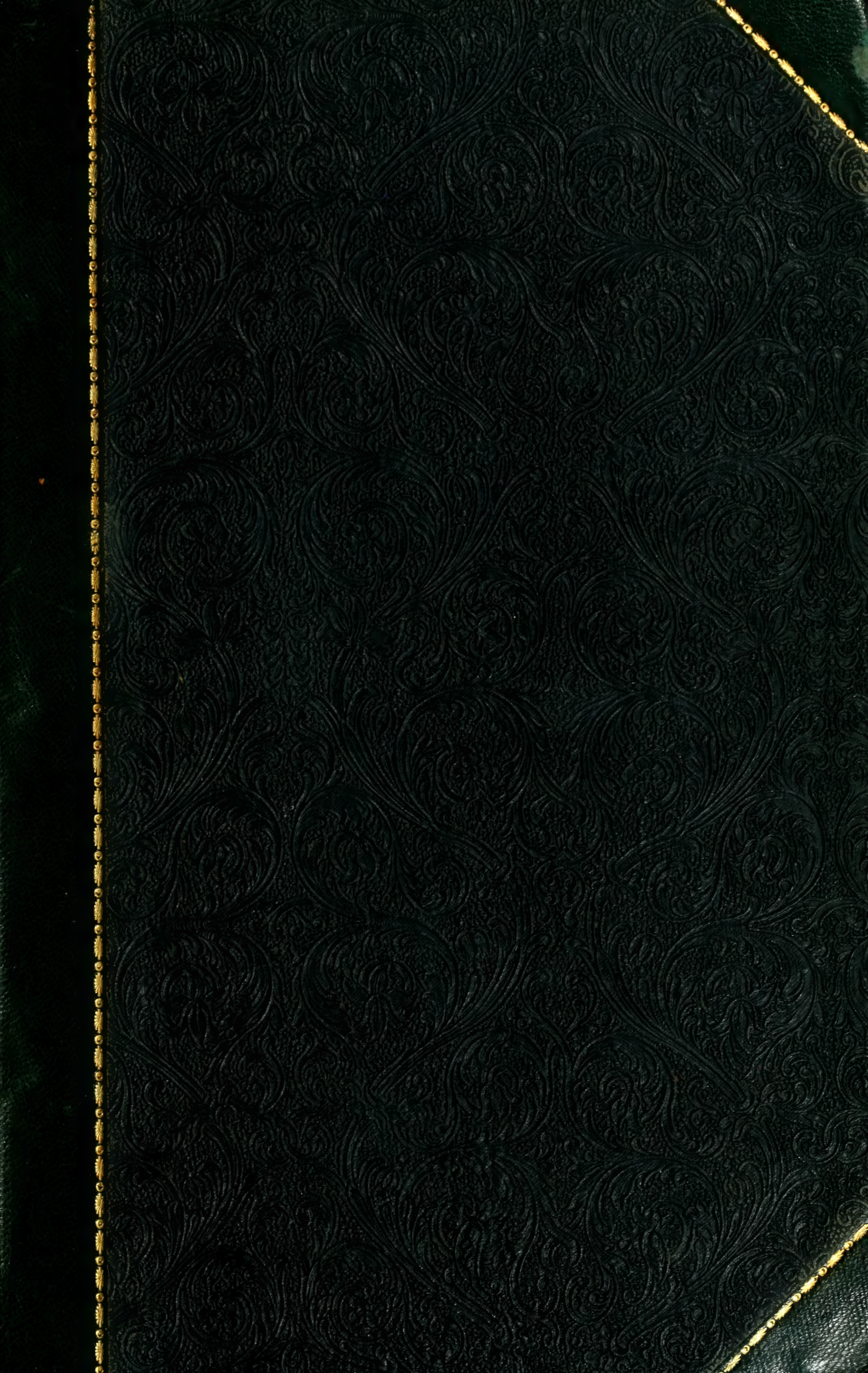


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HISTORY

OF

NAPOLEON;

FROM THE FRENCH OF

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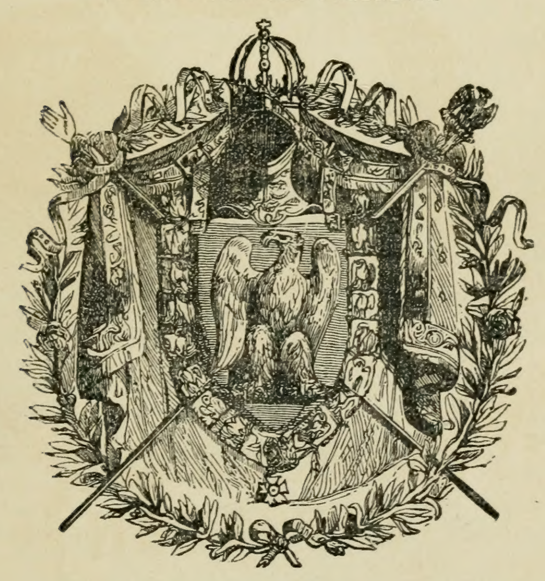
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WITH

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AND

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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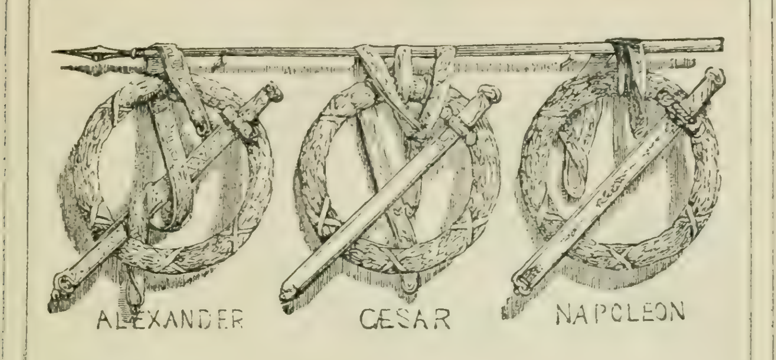
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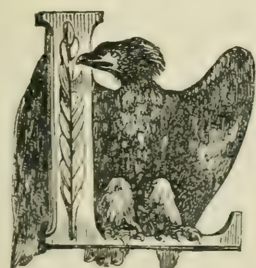
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PORTRAITS IN VOL 1.





INTRODUCTION.



ASTINGLY exalted is the name of Napoleon! wherever arms shall flourish, or greatness be duly appreciated, there shall Napoleon Bonaparte be held up for high and honourable estimation. Generations yet unborn shall swell the trumpet of his fame; and "squint-eyed prejudice" stand blinded in the effulgence of his glory!

When the sword of Alexander overthrew the throne of Cyrus, and subjugated the East as far as the Indus, he did but extend the civilization of Athens, that rose under the name and by the arms of the disciple of the Stagyrite. The refinement of the age of Pericles, the acquirements of Attica, the philosophy of the Academy and the Lyceum, followed in the train of his victories.

When Cæsar subjugated Parthia and Germany, and carried the Roman eagle from the summit of Caucasus, to the hills of Caledonia, when he passed from Gaul to Italy, from Rome to Macedon, from the plains of Pharsalia to the shores of Africa, from the ruins of Carthage to the banks of the Nile and the Euxine; when he traversed the Bosphorus and the Rhine, the Taurus and the Alps, the Atlas and the Pyrenees; in all these

triumphal courses, he propagated under the protection of his personal glory, the name, the language, and manners of civilized Rome. With him came the Augustan era.

Of all these mighty conquerers, Napoleon stands second to none. If Alexander carried with him the age of Pericles, and Cæsar that of Augustus, if they were accompanied, the one and the other in their triumphs, by the genius of Homer and of Sophocles, of Plato and Aristotle, of Virgil and Horace; Napoleon carried with him an age that the arts, sciences and philosophy have rendered equally illustrious; and his enterprize is no less than that of his predecessors.

This is the man, whom a little aristocracy wish to denounce as an odious despot and an insatiable conqueror. But in the breasts of the Artizan, the labourer, and the soldier, he is still cherished as the "Man of the people," as the personification of that spirit of equality which pervaded both his administration and the camp, and which to this day pervades the whole European Society.

This is the man whose name is religiously respected by the peasant in his cottage. This is the man, whose history we hope to trace, in a temper equally devoid of adulation or detraction.





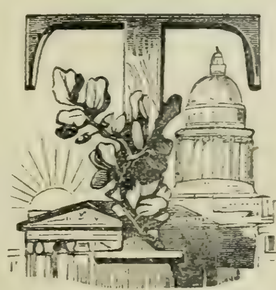
HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and infancy of Napoleon.



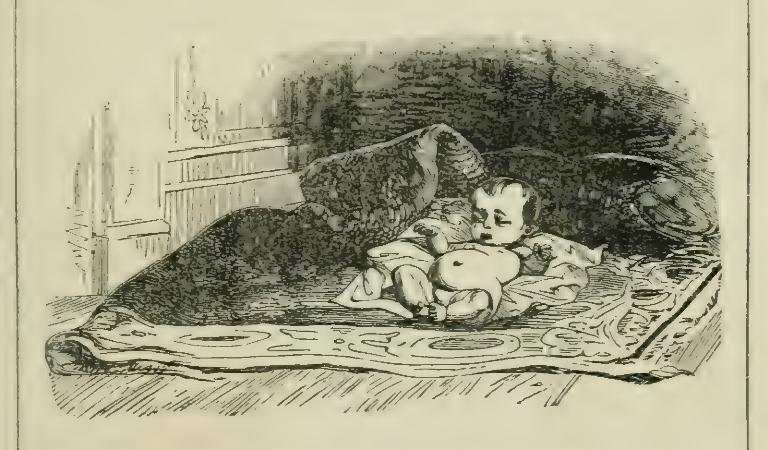
THE time had now arrived when Voltaire and Rousseau were about to leave that world, which for so long had echoed with the repetition of their names. Mirabeau, as yet, known only for his excesses, and the wildness of h's youth, was reserving for his riper age that undying and glorious celebrity as an orator and a statesman, which he afterwards acquired. Providence by its own secret agency, always governing the world to those ends which itself conceived; that Providence which in the succession of generations and empires has

wonderfully disposed of the progress, and events of great revolutions; from an obscure corner of the Mediterranean brought forth a man who by his military genius was to invest all existing institutions with the spirit of reform; and to close the eighteenth century—a century already remarkable for its advancement in all social and moral improvements,—by prodigies of military prowess, more startling than any that had hitherto astonished the world, in either ancient or modern times.



Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Charles Bonaparte and Laetitia Ramolino, was born at Ajaccio, in the isle of Corsica on the 15th August, 1769. If he had lived in times more favorable to superstition than the present; popular predictions and celestial signs would not be wanting to shew themselves at the event of his birth. "His mother," says M. de Las Cases, "a woman equally remarkable for her mental and

physical qualities, and who continually accompanied her husband in his military campaigns, was seized with the pains of labor while attending Mass at the solemnization of some holiday: she speedily gained her home, and upon reaching her chamber, was delivered of a male child upon an old piece of tapestry, upon which was embroidered the tale of the Illiad, and figures of the fabled warriors of antiquity; that child was Napoleon."



Some writers, during his consulship, and upon the eve of the re-establishment of Monarchy, were willing to furnish him with a genealogy, and found a relationship for him among the ancient kings of the North. But the soldier, aware the success of the revolution depended upon himself, and recollecting that, under the reign of equality, he had risen through the inferior grades, to a supreme rank in the army solely by his own merit, replied, that his nobility rested upon the services he had done his country, and those he dated from the battle of *Montenotte.*

The father of Napoleon had been educated at Pisa and Rome. He was a man of learning and ability, who displayed much zeal and energy in several very important circumstances,

particularly during the debate at Corsica relative to the subjection of that island to the crown of France. Charles Bonaparte appeared shortly afterwards at Versailles, at the head of a deputation from his province, on the occasion of the differences which had arisen, between the two French generals who commanded in Corsica, M. de Marbeuf and M. de Narbonne Pelez.

The credit of the latter, so powerful at court, was partly frustrated, by the frank and fearless evidence of Charles Bonaparte, who faithfully leaning to truth and justice, pleaded eloquently for M. de Marbeuf.

This was the origin and sole cause of the protection which this gentleman afterwards afforded the Bonaparte family.

Though Napoleon was but the second son of Charles Bonaparte, he was always considered as the chief of the family. His grand uncle the Archdeacon Lucien, who had been the guide and support of all his relations, gave him this title upon his death-bed, and charged his elder brother Joseph not to forget it; this as Napoleon afterwards observed, was "*a true disinheritage, the scene of Jacob and Esau.*"

He acquired this remarkable distinction, from his grave and reflective character, and the right sense of reason which he displayed at a very early age.

Placed in 1777, at the military school of Brienne, he there applied himself wholly to the study of history, geography, and mathematics. He there had Pichegru for a tutor, and M. de Bourrienne for his comrade. He was totally absorbed in the mathematics, and his taste for politics, was even then, very remarkable. Interested for the independence of his country, he shewed a kind of worship for Paoli, whom he defended with some energy against the contrary opinion of his father.

It has been often asserted, though with little truth, that while at college he was solitary and taciturn, and without a friend. Neither is it more true what M. de Bourrienne, a discarded favorite, has said of him, that he was "*rough in his*

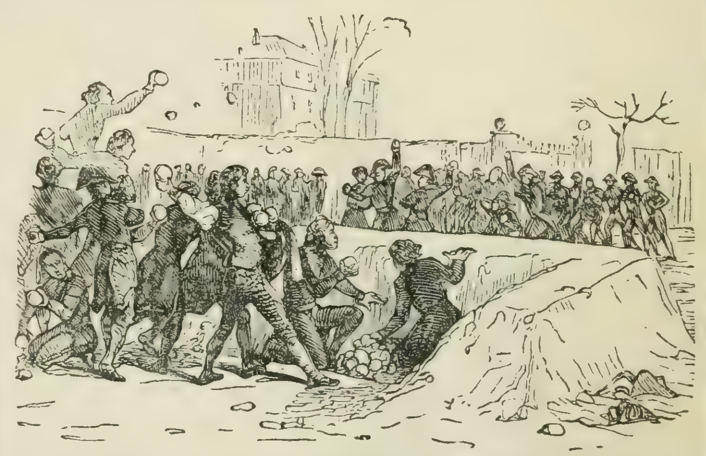
manners and possessed of little amiability." It was his precocious gravity, and his severe and *brusque* manner which caused them to accuse him of misanthrophy and secretiveness of soul. Napoleon was on the contrary, naturally mild and affectionate. It was not till he arrived at maturity, that he manifested any change in his character, so at least he says, speaking of himself, in his dictations at St. Helena.

We are told also, that his love of solitude; and his preference, (as exclusive as precocious) for the military art, caused him in some measure to confine himself to his garden, and there fortify himself against the intrusion of his fellow students. One of his schoolfellows has undertook to disprove this story and relate the fact; it is the famous anecdote of the fortress built of snow, and its seige and defence with snow-balls.



"In the winter 1783-4," says he, "so memorable by the quantity of snow which fell, and accumulated upon the roads," Napoleon was prevented from working in his little garden; which afforded him the only amusement he at that time enjoyed.

In his hours of relaxation, he was therefore forced to mingle with his comrades, in their common pastimes, that of promenading an immense hall. To escape from this monotony, Napoleon bestirred the whole school, and soon made them aware how much better they could amuse themselves, if they would get some shovels and open different passages through the snow, build some towers, dig some trenches, raise some platforms, &c. "When that is done," said he, "we will divide ourselves into companies, and commence an attack upon the fortress, and as inventor of the game, I install myself as director of the attacking party."



"The joyous troop received this project with enthusiasm; it was speedily executed, and this miniature warfare was continued for fifteen days, it was then interdicted in consequence of their putting gravel and small flints into their snow-balls, the result was that several scholars, both the besiegers and the besieged, were seriously hurt. I recall this because I was one of the most ill-used by this unfair play."

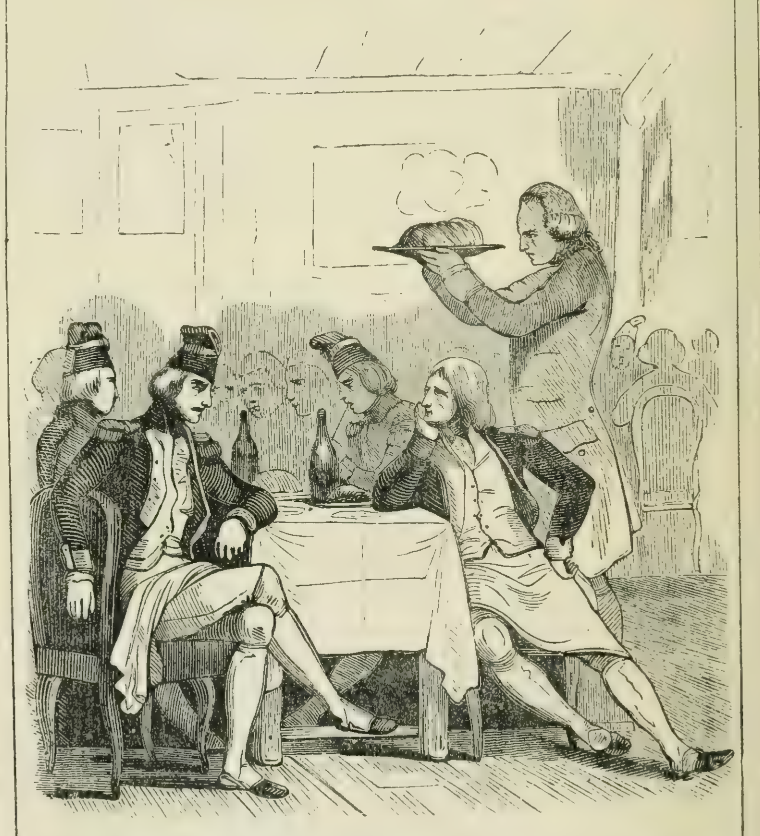
Thus to move the whole school, is some proof that young Bonaparte in spite of his habits of lonely meditation, had acquired a certain influence over the mass of students, and that he had not shewn in his relation with them the character of moroseness, roughness, or spite, which is attributed to him, upon the authority of prejudiced, or ill-informed biographies.

Not only did he enjoy the estimation of his comrades, but he also possessed in a high degree, that of his teachers. Many of whom have since pretended to have predicted his future greatness. M. de l'Eguille his master of history, during Napoleon's emperorship found in the archives of the military school, a note in which he had many years back appended the following words to his scholar's name, "a Corsican by birth and character, he will do much if circumstances favor him."

His professor of *belles-lettres*, in which he occupied a distinguished rank among the rhetoricians, Domairon, called his acquirements "flaming granites poured from a volcano."

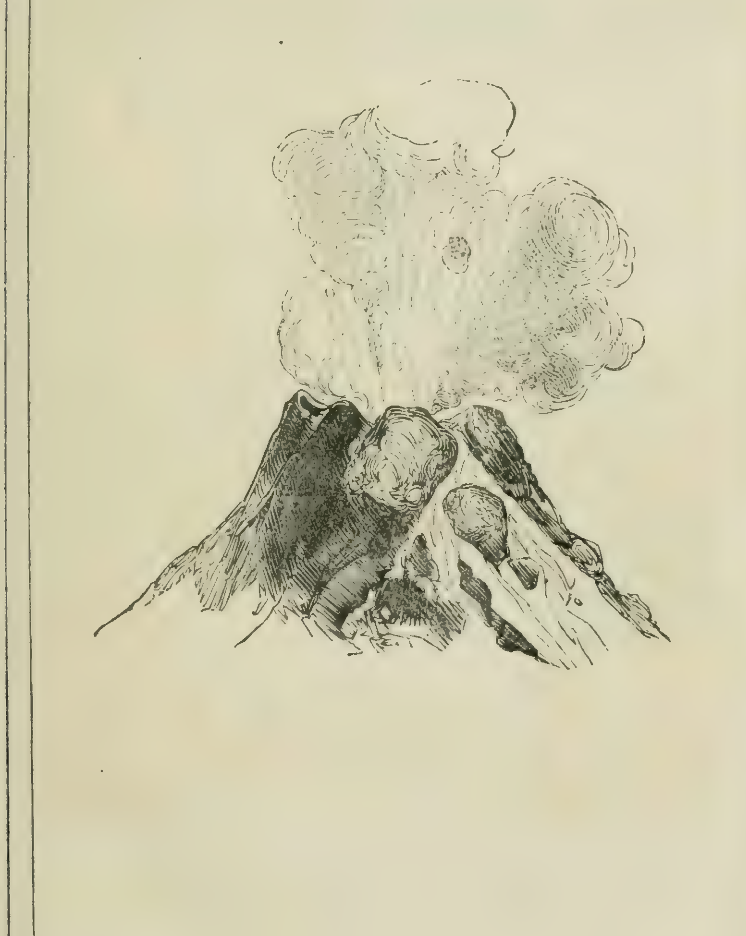
At the examination of 1785, he was selected by the Chevalier de Keralio for the military school at Paris. In vain the officer who filled the situation of Inspector, complained that the young scholar was not of the requisite age, and that he was only studied in mathematics—"I know what I do," said he "if I here overstep the rule, it is not to favour his family, I know nothing of this boy; it is on his own account, I perceive a spark of genius here that cannot be too much cultivated." On entering this new school, Napoleon was not long in expressing his surprise and grief at the education which was there given to young men destined for the camp and the laborious profession of arms. It formed the subject of a note which he addressed to the principal, M. Berton, in which he represented "that the king's scholars being all poor gentlemen could not afford the expensive charges of the establishment.

He proposed to curtail the number of servants, compel the students to groom their own horses, " Since they are far from being rich," said he, " and all destined for the military service, ought they not to be taught this? Accustomed to a sober life, they will become more robust, better able to brave the inclemency of the seasons, support with courage the fatigues of war, and inspire the soldiers under them with respect and devotedness."



Thus Napoleon, yet a lad, threw into a school address, the foundations of an institution that he one day realized in his

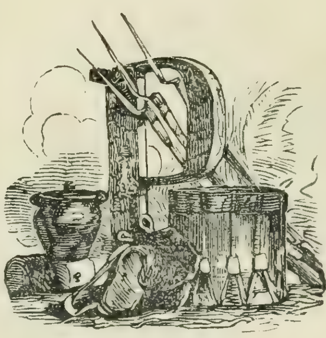
power of Emperor. Equally distinguished at Paris as he had been at Brienne, he left the military school in 1787, and passed as a second lieutenant to the artillery regiment of *La Fere,* then in garrison at Grenoble.





CHAPTER II.

From Napoleon's entry into the service, to the siege of Toulon.



ARIS in 1787 was the fittest theatre the universe could have afforded Napoleon for the display of his oratorical powers. There, at eighteen years of age, he gained the familiarity of the *abbé* Raynal, with whom he frequently discussed, and with almost equal talent, the highest questions of history, legislation, and politics.

After passing his examination, he repaired to Valence, to join a party of his regiment stationed there. He speedily became a welcome visitor to the highest families in that town, and particularly to that of Madame Colombier, a woman of rare acquirements; and the most influential in Valence. It was there, that he bacame acquainted with M. de Montalivet, whom he afterwards made his minister of the interior. Madam

Colombier had a daughter, who inspired the young officer of artillery with the first sentiments of love that he had experienced in his life.



This inclination, as tender as innocent, was happily reciprocated by her who was the object; she snatched many opportunities of speaking alone to Napoleon, and rose early in the summer mornings to walk in the garden for the purpose of eating cherries together.

At length their only thoughts were directed to their future marriage. Madame Colombier, notwithstanding her esteem

and admiration of the young man, never once dreamed of such an alliance, with her daughter, as that of a pennyless lieutenant of artillery. In revenge, she exorted him to follow his high destinies, and on her death bed renewed her predictions, at a time, when the French Revolution opened to him a career, in which they were to be fulfilled. Napoleon in after years, fell in with Mademoiselle Colombier at Lyons, where she was residing with her husband M. de Bressicux. The Emperor placed her as lady of honour to one of his sisters, and gave an advantageous employment to her husband.

His pre-occupations of the heart, and enlarged circle of acquaintance, in no measure deterred him from pursuing his graver studies, or attracted his attention from those speculations upon both social and political economy in which he was almost wholly absorbed. He anonymously contended for, and bore away the prize at the academy at Lyons, upon this question; "What are the principles and institutions best calculated to advance mankind to the highest attainable happiness?" proposed by his old friend the abbe Raynal.

The remembrance of this triumph was not at all flattering to the after Emperor, since it appears, when M. de Talleyrand shewed him his essay, which he had gained from the archives of the academy, he unconcernedly threw it into the fire.

The French Revolution broke out, all the enlightened youth of France applauded it with transport. The upper classes were infatuated with their titles and privileges, and many of these were to be found in the army, who did not partake of the popular enthusiasm. But this spirit could not fail of inspiring a soldier of whom Paoli had said with so much truth and reason "that he was fashioned from the ancients, and was one of Plutarch's men." Napoleon was unlike the most part of his comrades who beheld with apathy the regeneration of their native country. No doubt the considerations of his future glory and fortune, in some measure influenced and directed the formation of his opinions and princi-

ple, for he is recorded to have said to his captain, in joining the insurgent party, that "the revolution was a fine time for military men possessed of courage and spirit," but is this to be attributed merely to a mean calculation of his own aggrandizement and a total desertion of that ardent patriotism and political steadfastness, that he had manifested before the explosion of the revolution both in his conversation and writings? It is not with the erroneous contemplation of a visionary or the devout denial of a monk, that we must enter public affairs, if we wish to gain ascendancy over men's minds, or effect any amelioration of the people's condition. It was fortunate for France, that amongst the legislators and soldiers devoted to the reform of 1789, there were found some friends eager to acquire a portion of their renown, by rendering some important services to the republic, or ambitious of power to facilitate the realization of their private plans. It was above all, happy



for her, that amongst this ambition, without which the revolutionary drama, deprived of movement and life, would have

presented but the cold and sterile spectacle of a congress of quakers or council of simpletons, that France should have met with a man capable of aspiring and elevating himself above the common herd, by his immense talents and labour, to the profit of European civilization.

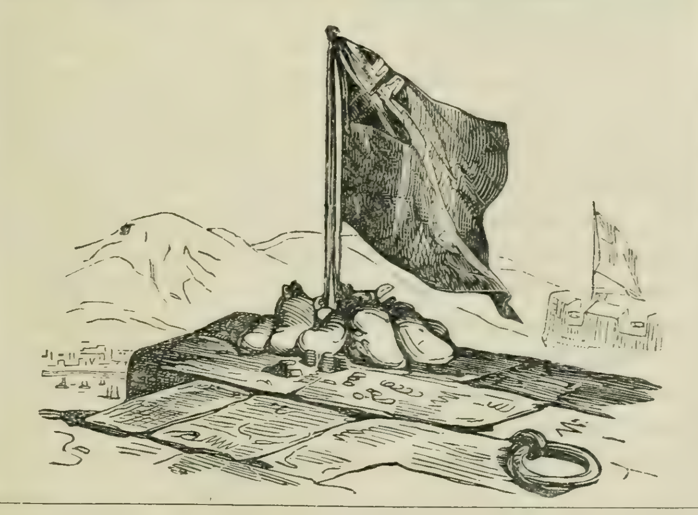
Napoleon strongly entertaining some presentiments of his future destiny, followed the necessities of the time, in ardently embracing the popular party. But in this extreme patriotism, he still nourished in his soul an instinctive aversion for any thing that carried with it the shadow of anarchy, and joined with indignation in the turbulent meetings of the multitude to decry against that power which one day devolved upon himself. On the 20th of June, 1792, he became an eye witness to the insurrection at Paris. Standing upon one of the terraces at the Tuilleries and seeing Louis XVI. crowned with the cap of liberty by one of the mob, he cried, after a short but energetic harangue : "How came they to suffer this *canaille* to enter ? they should have blown four or five hundred of them into the air, and the rest would have taken to their heels."

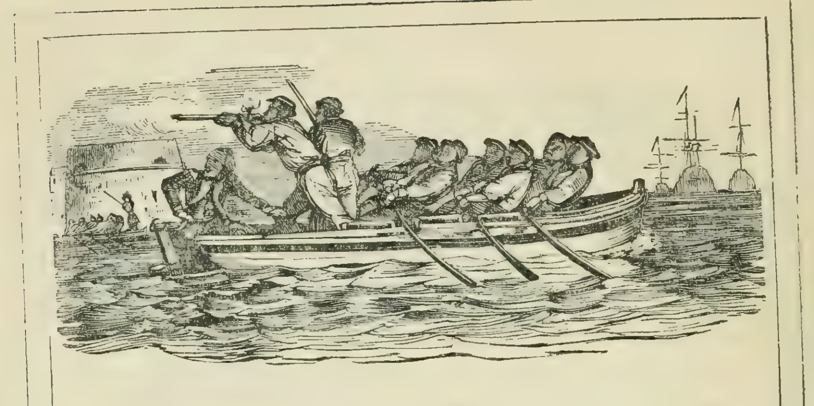
This is to be considered as the violent outbreak of a soldier indignant at the military, who, by promptitude might have prevented this coarse and disgusting insult, from befalling their sovereign. Shortly afterwards upon the 10th of August, the Tuileries was again occupied by the populace, and the disgraceful scene of the 20th of June was again reacted. Napoleon, a zealous partizan of the french revolution, but at the same time strongly regarding the rules of order, and the considerations of legitimate power, left Paris in disgust, and resided again in Corsica. Paoli was at that time intriguing in that island in favor of England. The young French patriot deeply affected at such conduct: from that moment tore from his affections, the idol of his youth. He took a command in the national guards, and continued, until death, his hatred for the old man to whom up to that time, he had shown so much respect, sympathy, and admiration.

Corsica yielded to the English flag. Ajaccio was laid in cinders, and the Bonaparte family after seeing their house pillaged, and converted into a barrack for the English troops, took refuge in France and established themselves at Marseilles. Napoleon did not stop long in that town, but hastened his return to Paris, where the events succeeded with such violence and rapidity, that each day and every hour gave the signal for a new crisis.

The south of France had now hoisted the standard of rebellion, and Toulon had been treacherously delivered to the English. The General Cartaux was charged by the convention, to proceed and re-establish the province under the laws of the republic, to secure its defeat, and to punish the traitors and rebels.

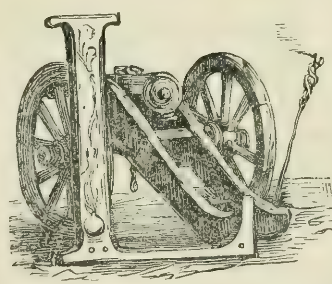
As soon as victory had brought this General to Marseilles, the siege of Toulon was ordered, Napoleon accompanied him there as the commander of the artillery. It was about this time that he published under the title of "*Souper de Beaucain*" a small composition of which the memorials of St. Helena say nothing, but which M. de Bourrienne declares he received from Bonaparte himself on his return from Toulon.





CHAPTER III.

Siege and taking of Toulon. Commencement of the Italian campaigns. Destitution.



LOOKING at the army encamped under the walls of Toulon, Napoleon was not long in perceiving the band of intrepid volunteers within its ranks, but soon discovered that however conditioned its troops may have been, they boasted not one chief worthy to be their commander. General Cartaux, who affected a display and magnificence little compatible with republican principles, had in fact more ignorance than show. The conquest of Toulon was a task much beyond the power of his forces, but he was far from perceiving their disheartening incapacity, on the contrary, he gave himself credit for possessing those powers of conception and execution, which are particularly in request in any enterprise. It was this ridiculous confidence in himself that brought forth the famous plan, that provoked his recall, and which was couched in these terms:

"The General of artillery shall storm Toulon for three days,

at the end of which, I will attack it under three columns, and carry it." Happily at the side of this singular and laconic tactician, there was found a subaltern officer, as much his superior by his science and talents, as he was inferior to him in rank. This was a young man twenty four years of age. Although both simple and modest, he could not conceal the contempt that he felt for the most part of the men that the government and discipline made it a duty for him to regard as his superiors, and whose folly might become so fatal to the republic. This honorable contempt and the consciousness of his superiority above all those who surrounded him, encouraged him to affront his chiefs themselves, most of whom permitted him to execute those measures he thought advantageous, without contradiction. During one of his daily quarrels with Cartaux, he once heard the wife of the general-in-chief, say to her husband, "Let the young man alone, he knows more about it than you, and as you are the responsible person, the glory he achieves, will still be yours."

From his arrival at the camp, Napoleon with that prompt and sure foresight, which so invariably accompanied his talents upon the field of battle had perceived that for the recapture of Toulon, it was necessary to bring the aid of the boats to the attack, and said he, pointing to a spot upon the map, "here lies Toulon, two days after the French troops shall have gained possession of this fort, the town itself will belong to the Republic." But a long interval of delay succeeded before his advice was followed. The commander alone was endowed with a military genius, and this support from an enlightened officer, could not overcome the stupid infatuation of the general-in-chief. However there was among the representatives of the people, a man gifted with sufficient penetration and perspicuity to divine and foresee the great captain under the simple garb of a commander of artillery. Napoleon was entrusted with sufficient power to secure the success of his plans; Cartaux was recalled, the foreigner driven from Toulon, and the con-

queror some time afterwards, in recalling the first triumph, for which he was in fact indebted to the confidence of the members of the Convention, said with gratitude, "that it was Gasparin who had opened his career."

During the siege, Napoleon gave constant examples, of the greatest *sang-froid*, and the rarest bravery; for it was not only in the council that he evinced his wisdom and ability, but he bore them also to the midst of action, and drew as much admiration from every soldier for his calm heroism, as he astonished his generals by his skill, and the rapidity of his intelligence. This intrepidity caused him to have several horses slain under him, and he was once wounded in the left thigh so severely, as to threaten a necessity for amputation.

It was not only on the most important occasions that he displayed this incessant activity; when circumstances required it, he turned his hand to everything, and thought it not derogatory to his transcendant mind, to descend to details in the exigence of the moment. Thus, during the siege of Toulon, he was standing one day near a battery where one of the artillerymen was slain, he immediately stepped into his place, and loaded a dozen times himself.



This circumstance gained him a malignant distemper of which the dead gunner was infected, and which after putting in danger the life of the commander, caused in him the extreme thinness that he retained during the wars of Egypt and of Italy. His recovery was not fully effected till many years after, by the care and skill of Corvisart.

All the officers did not resemble Cartaux either in silliness or jealousy. The generals Dutheil and Dugommier, on the contrary, treated him with a high esteem, and showed him a deference but rarely enjoyed by an inferior. This was the result of his immense and incontestable superiority of learning and talents. Dugommier was astonished at his skill at the taking of Little Gibraltar, when Napoleon said to him with an assurance that was prophetic "go and repose yourself, we are going to take Toulon, you can sleep there after to-morrow." But the astonishment gave place to the most lively admiration and true enjoyment, when the prediction was punctually and fully fulfilled. Napoleon in his will recollected the generals Dutheil and Dugommier, and also Gasperin. Dugommier wrote to the committee of public safety about this time, demanding the post of general of brigade for the commander Bonaparte: his epistle ran in these words: "Recompense and advance this young man, *for if you are ungrateful towards him, he will promote himself.*"

The representatives of the people acted justly upon this demand. The new General was employed in the army in Italy, and principally contributed to the taking of Saorgio, and to the success of Tanaro and of Oneille.

Although ardently attached to the revolutionary system, which saved the country by an energy often times accompanied with terrific and barbarous measures; Napoleon by the height of his genius, subdued those passions and opinions which so violently clashed together; and in the midst of the revolutionary fever stood a solitary instance of moderation and impartiality. Nor made he any further use of his credit and power beyond pro-

tecting his political adversaries from their vigorous persecution. He was warmly interested in the fate of a party of emigrants, that the tempest had cast upon the coast of France, among whom were found the family of Chabrillant. When the vengeance of the Convention fell upon the insurgents of the south and overcame the most powerful and richest merchants at Marseilles, its reckless brutality spared neither sex nor age; M. Hughes an old man eighty years of age, became an outcast in the general immolation; upon recollection of this, Napoleon re-



marked, "That was truly such a sight, as I shall remember to the end of the world." Notwithstanding the horror he felt at these acts of barbarity, Napoleon judged calmly, and without prejudice, the bloody dominatory of this epoch. "The Emperor," says the Memorial of St. Helena, "did Robespierre the justice to say, he had seen his long letters from him to his brother, Robespierre the younger, then a representative in the army of the South, where he complained of and deprecated with warmth these excesses, saying that they were dishonourable to the revolution, and unwarranted by the laws of warfare."

Robespierre the younger, like Gasparin had perceived and admired his rising greatness. He did all in his power to induce him to come to Paris, at the time of his recall, and a little time previous to the 9th Thermidor. "If I had not refused," said Napoleon, "who knows what my first step might have been, and what other destiny might have awaited me?" It was at the siege of Toulon that he fell in with, and first became attached to Duroc and Junot. Duroc who possessed his sole intimacy and entire confidence, and Junot who distinguished himself by the following trait. The commandant of the artillery on his arrival at Toulon, commenced constructing a battery, and at one time had need of writing a few lines upon the spot, he asked a sergeant or corporal, who was standing by, if any one could serve him in the capacity of secretary. A soldier immediately sat down to write, and had nearly completed the letter, when a shell passed swiftly by him, and, breaking the earth at his feet, scattered it over the paper: "*Good,*" said the soldier, continuing to write: "*I shall have no need of sand.*" This was Junot, and this proof of courage and coolness served to recommend him to his commander, who afterwards promoted him to the first ranks of the army.

The conquest of Toulon due to young Bonaparte, was gained without having recourse to any of those tricks or expedients which at that time characterized the operations of most

of the military chiefs, with the sanction of the commissioners of the Convention. A decree was issued to order him to the bar of the Convention, to answer some accusations that had been made against him, relative to the fortifications of Marseilles. A representative, envious of his rapid elevation, and irritated at finding him so untractable, outlawed him, which sentence, though often fatal, this time was happily of no avail. All the representatives in the army of the South, as we said before, did not evince the same hostile sentiments towards Napoleon. One of them, among others, who was married to an extremely handsome and amiable lady, treated him with the utmost cordiality, and suffered an imprudent familiarity to exist between his wife and guest, that might have proved prejudicial both to himself and Napoleon. The lady, nevertheless, continued to enjoy the affectionate attentions of her husband, who was afterwards one of the first to call the notice of the Convention towards the conqueror of Toulon, about the time of the 13th Vendémiaire.

Napoleon, after he became Emperor, again saw his lovely hostess of Nice. Time and misfortune had altered, and almost entirely destroyed that beauty which had formerly charmed Napoleon. She was then a widow, and plunged in the deepest misery; the Emperor, with a feeling of liberality, made an ample provision for her.

In recurring to his previous happiness, as the world styles it, although discountenanced by morality, Napoleon would say: "I was then very young: I was happy, and proud of my little success, and anxious to shew my gratitude by paying every attention in my power. You may now see how I abused my authority, and what may befall a man, for I am not worse than other folks. Walking with her one day near our positions, in the neighbourhood of the Col-di-Tende, I suddenly thought to amuse her with the sight of a little warfare; and ordered an attack upon one of the out-posts. We were conquerors, it is true, but that, indeed, might not have been

the result, the attack was ordered without a moment's consideration, and some few men were killed; I never think of



this circumstance without severely reproaching myself for it."

The events of the 9th Thermidor, for a time arrested Napoleon in the career which he had commenced with so much glory and success. Either his connection with young Robespierre had made him suspected, or his increasing glory had induced his enemies to seize this pretext for effecting his destruction; be it as it might, he was placed under arrest, by order of Albitte, Laporte, and Sallicetti, for having made a journey to Genoa, the object of which was unknown to the colleagues. Declared unworthy of the confidence of the army, and dismissed by the committee of public safety, General Bonaparte did not quietly put up with that dismissal and accusation. He addressed a letter immediately to the representatives who had arrested him, in which we already discover the haughty, concise and energetic style that is so frequently and easily recognized in all his subsequent conversations and writings. We subjoin a few fragments of that remarkable composition:

" You have suspended me from my functions—arrested, and declared me suspected—

" Therein you have branded me without judging—or rather judged without hearing—

" In a revolutionary state there are two classes, the disaffected and the patriots.

" In which class would you place me ?

" Since the beginning of the revolution have I not been ever attached to its principles ?

" Have not I always been seen in the struggle, whether against the domestic enemy, or as a soldier against the foreigner ?

" I have sacrificed the rest of my department—I have abandoned my ease and comforts—I have left all for the republic.

" Since which I have served before Toulon with some distinction, and have earned at the hands of the army of Italy a share of those laurels acquired at the taking of Saorgio, of d'Oneille, and at Tanaro.

" On the discovery of the conspiracy of Robespierre, my conduct was that of a man of principle.

" They cannot then withold from me the title of patriot.

" Why am I declared suspected without having been heard ?

" Innocent—a patriot—calumniated—what should be the measures taken by the committee—of what can they complain in such a man ?

" If three men declared that I have committed a crime, I could not complain of the Jury who might condemn me.

" Ought representatives to put the Government to the necessity of being unjust and impolitic ?

" Hear me; destroy the oppression that environs me, and restore me in the estimation of patriotic men.

" An hour after that, if the wicked desire my life, I shall esteem it but little, I have despised it often. Yes, the sole idea that it may be still useful to my country, makes me sustain the burden with courage."

This protest, noble and elevated in its simplicity, led the representatives to reflect that they had to do with a man of high capacity, and that it would be, therefore, hopeless to attempt to curb him by arbitrary persecution, without exposing themselves to a protracted and vigorous resistance. Considering then the exigencies of the moment, and warned by the suggestions of prudence, Albitte and Sallicetti,

together with General Dumerbion, revoked *provisionally* their arrest, and pronounced the liberation of General Bonaparte, "whose military and local knowledge," they said, "may be of use to the republic."

Meanwhile, the thermidorian reaction having delivered the direction of the military committee to a captain of artillery, named Aubry, Napoleon was suspended from his command, and appointed General of infantry, to serve in La Vendée. Indignant at a change so injurious, and little disposed to devote the talent he was conscious of possessing in so unworthy a service; he hastened, on arriving in Paris, to tender his resignation to the military committee, where he failed not to express himself with much warmth and vehemence. Aubry was inflexible; he told Napoleon that he was young, and that he must make way for his seniors, to which Napoleon responded, that one soon became old on the field of battle, and that he was no longer young. The president of the committee had never seen fire.

But this repartee was more calculated to ruffle the choler of Aubry, than to persuade him. He was inflexible in his determination, and the young officer, no less obstinate, preferred remaining destitute to giving way to injustice.





CHAPTER IV.

Destitution. Thirteenth Vendémiaire. Josephine. Marriage.



It is curious to observe the future dictator of Europe arrested in his career, rendered destitute, and struck out of the list of French generals on active service, by a measure signed by Merlin de Douai, Berlier, Boissy-d'Anglas, and Cambacérès, men, who one day vied with each other in their zeal to obtain a smile or a gesture of approbation from the young officer, who they now treated with so little consideration and regard.

But he found among the actors of the Thermidor a man who wished not to let those military talents that Bonaparte evinced at Toulon lie idle. This was Pontécoulant, Aubry's successor, who without risking the reproaches of the ruling faction,

employed Napoleon in laying down plans for others to carry into execution.

This obscure position, which sorted so ill with the character of a warrior, to whom glory and excitement were the necessaries of existence, was, however, very soon considered too advantageous and too honourable for the young officer whom it had been attempted to ruin. Letourneur de la Manche, who succeeded Pontécoulant in the presidency of the military committee, imbibed the old rancour of Aubry, and Napoleon lost all employment.

It was then that, despairing of overcoming the jealousies, the prepossessions and the powerful hatred of which he was the object, and no less unwilling to throw up those capacities for military and political action, of which he felt himself possessed; for a moment he turned his eyes from Europe to cast them towards the East. He felt that he was formed for empire. Nature had endowed him with a mind for conceiving and accomplishing it; and if refused by France, the East still held out hopes.

Filled with this thought, he indited a note, pointing out to the French Government that it was to the interest of the republic to increase the means of defence of the Porte, against the ambitious views of the rest of Europe. "General Bonaparte," said he, "who since his youth has served in the artillery, who commanded it at Toulon, and during two campaigns of the army of Italy, offers to depart for Turkey on a mission from the Government. He will be useful to France in this new career; if he can render the Turks more formidable, repair the defences of their principal fortresses, and build others, he will have done good service to his country."

"If a commissioner at war," says M. de Bourienne, "had signed, *granted*, at the bottom of this note, that word might have changed the face of all Europe." But the word was not written. Internal politics and party-struggles, prevented

the Government from giving attention to military plans of which the result was as uncertain as the field was distant; and Napoleon continued to live idly in Paris. The Revolution did not let him wait long. The Royalists, aroused and emboldened by the disunion prevalent, incited the people to revolt against the convention. The insurgents were at first successful. General Menou, suspected of treason, and certainly guilty of indecision and incapacity, facilitated the victory of the sectionaries, whom he had been charged to disperse and reduce to submission; and he, with the Representatives accompanying him, seeing the determined front of



the rebels, were glad to make a hasty retreat. The leaders of the convention, who had compromised themselves too much with the Royalists, recollected, when too late, that they had proscribed, disarmed, and imprisoned a crowd of ardent patriots, who might, in the present perilous conjuncture have become intrepid auxiliaries.

The persecuted republicans heard the appeal of their persecutors, and fled to arms to save themselves from the common danger. But another General was required for that untutored army, after the check and humiliation of Menou; and Barras, intended for its chief, could exercise little more

than a nominal command. He had the good sense to perceive this, and provided himself with an adjutant, who was better acquainted with the art of war. He proposed General Bonaparte, and the Convention confirmed his choice by a decree which Napoleon heard from the public tribunals, to which he



often resorted, the better to observe the conduct of the assembly, which held the destinies of the Republic in its hands.

According to the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène,* Napoleon deliberated with himself nearly half an hour, whether he should accept or refuse the important situation to which he was called. He did not wish to fight against Vendée, neither could he decide without hesitation, to take up arms against

the Parisians. "Should the Convention be defeated," he inwardly reflected, "what will result from our great Revolution? The numerous victories bought with so much blood, would become shameful instead of glorious deeds; and the enemy we have so often conquered, will triumph and overwhelm us with contempt. The defeat of the Convention will crown the enemy with glory, and at once seal the shame and slavery of the country." These sentiments, the enthusiasm of youth, being but twenty-five years of age, his destiny, and his confidence in his own powers, prevailed. He decided upon accepting the post, and presented himself to the Committee.



This resolution was fatal to the insurgents, for Napoleon conducted his measures so well, that after a few hours fighting,

the Parisian army was driven from all its positions, and the revolt completely quelled.

The Convention recompensed its deliverer by appointing him General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior. From this day Napoleon foresaw that he would soon have the military strength of France at his disposal; in fact, his taking the supreme command of the capital, was the first step to the throne.

How changed his fortune in twenty-four hours!—On the 12th Vendémiaire, he had lived in despair at being obliged to turn his mind to things unworthy of him. Driven by vexatious crosses to doubt for the future, and so fatigued by the shackles he met with on the political arena, that he was almost tempted to seek the tranquillity and repose of private life, he was roused to exclaim, when he heard of the marriage of his brother Joseph with the daughter of one of the first merchants of Marseilles: "This Joseph is a lucky rogue!"

On the 14th Vendémiaire, on the contrary, all plebeian ideas had vanished. The man in disgrace to-day, found himself possessed of almost supreme power on the morrow; he had become the centre of ambition and political intrigue, as he was the soul of every movement. Having above him only an assembly rapidly declining in the administration of the affairs of state, the young conqueror of the Parisian sections attached to his dawning star the destinies of the revolution, which the fast fading luminary of the Convention could no longer conduct with the same *éclat*, as in the first years of liberty.

The earliest use which Napoleon made of his power, was to save Menou, whose life was desired by the Committees. Notwithstanding his moderation, the conquered could not forgive him their defeats, but their vengeance was limited to a nickname, and they could only punish him by giving him the epithet, *le Mitrailleur*.

The Parisian population considered themselves injured and degraded, a scarcity of food tended to heighten their discontent,

and render still more unpopular the soldiers who had reduced them to it. "One day, when the distribution of bread failed," says M. de Las-Cases, "and riotous mobs had assembled round the bakers' shops, Napoleon was passing with a party of his officers to watch over the public tranquillity; a crowd of the people, principally women, surrounded him, calling loudly for bread; as the mob increased, the cries and threats became more violent, rendering the situation of affairs most critical. At length, an enormously stout and powerful woman, rendered herself particularly remarkable by her gestures and speech, "All this group of fine epauletted fellows," cried she, point-



ing out the officers, "care nothing for us; provided they live well themselves, and grow fat, it matters not to them if the people die with hunger." Napoleon interrupted her, "My good woman," said he, "look at me, which is the fattest of us

two?" Napoleon was at that time extremely thin. "I was a mere slip of parchment," he observes. A universal laugh disarmed the populace, and Napoleon and his party continued their round."

However, the influence of the insurrectional movement of the Vendémiaire, and the almost universal recriminations which arose in the bosom of all parties, against the Convention, caused them to order a general disarming of the sections. While this was going forward, a lad about ten or twelve years



of age, came and entreated the General-in-chief to restore to him the sword of his father, who had commanded the republican armies. It was Eugène de Beauharnais. Napoleon granted his request, and treated him with much kindness. The youth wept feelingly, and related to his mother the kindness of the general; gratitude prompted her to thank him in person. Madame Beauharnais who was still young, did not

seek in this visit to conceal the grace and attraction for which she was so remarkable in the most brilliant societies of the capital. Napoleon was too much charmed with her, not to profit by the advantages which chance had thrown in his way. He spent all his evenings with Josephine, while some wrecks of the ancient aristocracy, which he there met with, were not displeased with the little "mitrailleur." When most of the company had retired, a few intimate friends remained, such as M. de Montesquiou, and the Duke of Nivernais, to converse privately of the old court, and of a tour to Versailles.

It was not a mere acquaintance, nor the attachment of a day, that Napoleon had formed for Madame Beauharnais. Love the most ardent had taken possession of his soul, and his marriage with her took place on the 9th of March, 1796. A negress had foretold Josephine that she would be a queen. This was a circumstance she was fond of relating without appearing too credulous. Her union with Bonaparte was a first step towards the fulfilment of the prophecy.





JOSEPHINE.



CHAPTER V.

The first Campaign of Italy.



CHERER, the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy, had compromised the arms and honour of the Republic by his military incapacity; by his mis-management, he had suffered his own horses to perish for want of subsistance, and the army to become destitute of every necessary; in consequence of which, they could no longer maintain their position on the coast of Genoa. The Directory were unable to supply them with money or food, and to put an end to their distress, sent them a new General; happily for the soldiers this was Bonaparte, whose genius speedily supplied the place of everything.

Bonaparte quitted Paris on the 21st of March, 1796, leaving the command of the Army of the Interior to an old general named Hatri. He had already formed his plan for the campaign, and resolved to penetrate into Italy by the

valley which separates the Peaks of the Alps and the Apennines, and by a disunion of the Austro-Sardinian army, compel the Imperial forces to cover Milan, and the Piedmontese to protect their capital. He arrived at Nice, by the end of March ; the head-quarters which had been in this town since the commencement of the campaign, were fixed at Albenga.

"Soldiers," said Napoleon, on reviewing his troops for the first time, "you are naked, and without food, your country owes you much, but cannot give you your own. Your patience and courage amidst these rocks are deserving of admiration; but it procures you no glory. I come to lead you to the most fertile plains in the world. Wealthy provinces, large towns will be in our power; and there you will acquire riches, honour and glory. Soldiers of Italy ! will you be wanting in courage ?"



This language was received with enthusiasm and restored hope to the army. The General-in-chief profited by it; and assumed a high tone towards the Senate of Genoa, of which he demanded the passage of the Bochetta, and the keys of Gavi.

On the 8th of April, he thus wrote to the Directory: "I found this army, not only destitute of everything, but without discipline; their insubordination and discontent were such, that the malcontents had formed a party for the Dauphin, and were singing songs opposed to the tenets of the Revolution. You may, however, rest assured that peace and order will be re-established; by the time you receive this letter, we shall have come to an engagement." All went on as Bonaparte had foreseen and promised.

The enemy's army was commanded by Beaulieu, a distinguished officer, who had acquired some reputation in the campaigns of the North; learning that the French army, which, until now, had with difficulty defended itself, had suddenly changed its plan to the offensive, and was boldly preparing to



force the gates of Italy, hastened to quit Milan, and fly to the assistance of Genoa. Posted at Novi, where he had established his head-quarters, he divided his army into three bodies, and published a manifesto, which the French General sent to

the Directory, saying he would reply to it "the day after the battle."

This battle took place on the 11th, at Montenotte; signalizing at one blow the brilliant commencement of the campaign; it procured for the Republican General his first victory, and that from which he dated the origin of his nobility.

Succeeding conflicts were for him only opportunities for fresh success; Bonaparte having conquered on the 14th at Millésimo, and on the 16th at Dégo, found that he had not only replied to the manifesto of Beaulieu, the day after the battle; but by three triumphs in four days; and on the same night of the battle of Dégo, he sent to the Directory an account of his rapid and glorious operations, not forgetting to mention the valiant conduct displayed by the officers under his command, viz: Joubert, Masséna, Augereau, Menard, Laharpe, Rampon, Lannes and others.

"We have at present made from seven to nine thousand prisoners, amongst whom is a Lieutenant-General and twenty or thirty Colonels, or Lieutenant-Colonels.

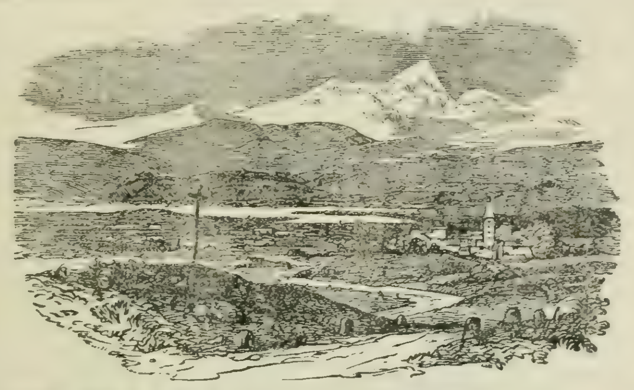
"The enemy have had from two thousand to two thousand five hundred killed.

"I will send you as soon as possible the details of this glorious action, and of the men who have particularly distinguished themselves."

The result of those brilliant days in which the names of Joubert, Masséna and Augereau, were, for the first time, gloriously revealed to France, was the cutting off the vanguard of the enemy, commanded by Provéra, and making him lay down his arms; to prepare the disjunction of the Austrians and the Piedmontese, and to open to the Republican troops the road to Milan and Turin.

Having reached the heights of Montezemoto, which Augereau had taken possession of, on the same day, that Serrurier had forced Colli to abandon his fortified camp at Céva, the General-in-chief directed the attention of his army to the

soaring peaks which the snow rendered visible in the distance, and which rose like magnificent cascades of ice, above the richly cultivated plains of Piedmont. "Hannibal forced the Alps," said he, regarding these mountains, "and we shall have turned them."



On the 22nd, a fresh victory was gained. The Tanaro was passed—the redoubt of Bicoque carried, Mondovi and its magazines in the power of the Republican army; on the 25th, Cherasco was taken, it had several pieces of cannon, and the place was speedily fortified. An armistice was signed there on the 28th.

Some days previous, about the 24th, Bonaparte had replied in these terms to a letter from General Colli, "The Directory has reserved to itself the right of treating for peace, it is therefore necessary that the ambassadors of the king, your master, should repair to Paris, or wait at Genoa for the ambassadors which the French government may be able to send there.

"The present position of the two armies renders all trifling suspension impossible. Although I may be thoroughly convinced that the Government will grant your king honourable conditions of peace, I cannot, on this vague presumption stay my march; there is a means, however of attaining your end; conform to the true interest of your court, which will spare

needless effusion of blood, so contrary to reason and the rules of warfare; by placing in my power two or three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, or Tortoni, whichever you please."

The fortresses of Coni and Tortoni were given up to the Republicans. They added that of Céva, and the armistice was concluded.

What a number of advantages gained in a single month! the Republic had no longer cause to fear for its Ports or Frontiers; it now in its turn made those monarchs tremble in their capitals, who had so lately threatened it with destruction; and this change had taken place with surprising rapidity,



without fresh resources, with an exhausted army, in want of provisions, artillery, and cavalry. This miracle was the joint produce of the genius of a great man, and of Liberty, which

presented him with soldiers and officers worthy of his command.

The enemies of the Republic were struck with astonishment. The French army were full of admiration for their young commander, but were nevertheless anxious for the future in the midst of their unparrallelled success, knowing the slender means which they possessed to enable them to follow this brilliant course of fortune, and for attempting an enterprise so difficult as the conquest of Italy. To dispel this uneasiness, and restore the enthusiasm of the troops, Napoleon addressed to them from Cherasco the following proclamation:

"Soldiers! in fifteen days you have gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have made fifteen thousand prisoners, killed or wounded upwards of ten thousand men. Hitherto, you have fought for barren rocks, rendered famous by your valour, but useless to your country. Your services now equal those of the victorious army of Holland and the Rhine. You have provided yourselves with everything of which you were destitute, you have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. Republican phalanxes, soldiers of Liberty, could alone have borne what you have suffered. Your grateful country will be partly indebted to you for its prosperity, and, if your conquest of Toulon presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, your present victories presage a still nobler.

"The two armies which but lately audaciously attacked, now fly before you in consternation; the wretches who laughed at your misery, and inwardly rejoiced at the triumphs of your enemies, are confounded and abashed. But, soldiers! it is useless to dissimulate. You have done nothing, while aught remains to be done. Neither Turin nor Milan are yours; the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trampled upon by the assassins of Basseville! You have

taken numerous magazines from your enemies; you are provided with artillery, both for carrying on a siege, and for the field. Soldiers! the country has a right to expect great achievements from you. Will you fulfil their expectations? The greatest obstacles, doubtless, are surmounted; but you have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross. Is there one whose courage fails him? Is there one who would prefer returning to the summits of the Alps and Appenines, to endure patiently the insults of yonder slavish soldiers? No! amongst the conquerors of Montenotte, Millésimo, Dégo and Mondovi, there is not one. All are burning to extend the glory of the people of France. And all are ready to humiliate those haughty kings, who dared to meditate our enslavement. All are anxious to dictate a glorious peace, and indemnify the country for the immense sacrifices she has made. Friends! I promise to lead you to conquests; but there is one condition which you must swear to fulfil: it is to respect the people whom you liberate; it is repress the horrible pillage to which the wretches, incited by your enemies abandon themselves. Without that you will not be the deliverers of the people; you will be their scourge; instead of reflecting honour on the French nation, you will be disowned by it. Your victories, your courage, your success, the blood of your brethren killed in battle, all will be sacrificed, even honour and glory. But, invested as I am with the national authority, I will compel the few devoid of courage or feeling, to respect the laws of humanity and honour, which they would trample under foot—I will not suffer brigands to sully your laurels. Pillagers shall be shot without mercy.

"People of Italy! the French army come to break your chains; the people of France are the friends of all nations; confide in them. Your property, your religion, and your customs shall be respected. We make war with those tyrants alone who enslave you."

This language proved Napoleon to be more than a great

captain. One may already see the statesman and the skilful politician, endeavouring to excite the sympathy, as well as the admiration of the people, by announcing to them their deliverance, the punishment of pillagers, and a scrupulous respect for their religion and manners.

It was at a distance of ten leagues only from Turin, that Napoleon spoke with so much confidence, and as it were, took possession of Italy. The king of Sardinia bestirred himself and opened active negociations. He despatched the count de Revel to Paris with instructions to procure the ratification of the peace. Napoleon on his side had already sent Murat, chief of a squadron of horse, to the capital, charged with a report of the victories which had signalized the opening of the campaign: "You can" he wrote to the Directory, "make peace on your own terms with the king of Sardinia; if you intend dethroning him, you must delay about ten days, letting me know, when I will take immediate possession of Valencia and march upon Turin.

"I shall send twelve thousand men to Rome, as soon as I have beaten Beaulieu."

The representatives of the nation received this message, decreeing for the fifth time in six days that the army of Italy deserved well of the country. The peace with the king of Sardinia soon added to the public joy. It was signed on the 15th of May, most advantageously for France.

Bonaparte, having now but the Imperial forces to contend with, determined to bear at once for the Adige, with that daring celerity which had, in a few days rendered him master of the finest provinces of the Sardinian monarchy; and set out after having written to the Directory:—"I march to-morrow against Beaulieu; I shall compel him to repass the Po; and crossing immediately after, shall take possession of all Lombardy; in less than a month I hope to be in the Tyrol, to meet with the army of the Rhine, and in concert with it, carry the war into Bavaria."

On the 9th of May he wrote to the Director Carnot:—"We have at length crossed the Po, the second campaign is begun, Beaulieu is disconcerted, he makes false caculations, and constantly falls into the snares which are laid for him: perhaps he will offer battle, for he has the boldness of a lion, but no genius. Another victory, and we shall be masters of Italy. The treasures we have taken from the enemy are incalculable. I shall send you twenty pictures by the first masters, by Correggio, and Michael Angelo.

"I have to return you my sincere thanks for the attention you have paid my wife; I commend her to your care; she is a sincere patriot and I am passionately fond of her."

The day after this letter was written, the fresh victory from which Bonaparte expected the possession of Italy was added



to the page of history, rendering famous the name of *Lodi* of which the republicans took possesion.

This battle was the prelude to the conquest of Lombardy.

In a few days Pizzighitone, Cremone, and all the principal towns of the Milanese, fell into the hands of the French army.

In the midst of encampments and the clash of arms, Napoleon whom one would have considered overwhelmed by his military and political occupations, displayed great solicitude for the fine arts, and requested the Directory to appoint a committee of artists to select the master pieces, which his victories placed at his disposal. Soon after we see him refusing immense sums which were offered him for a painting by Correggio, with which he intended to enrich the National Museum. It was



not only for the progress and prosperity of the fine arts that Napoleon felt interested ; all that appertained to the field of knowledge, the cultivation of letters and science, the cause of modern civilization, held a place in his vast imagination. A fortnight after the passage of the Po, amid the roar of the cannon of Lodi, and the smoke from the camp of Mantua, he withdrew himself from that universal bustle, of which he was the centre, to his head-quarters at Mantua, in order to write to

the celebrated and learned geometrician Oriani, the following remarkable letter.

To Citizen Oriani.

"Science, which honours the human mind, and the fine arts, which serve to embellish life, and transmit great actions to posterity, should be held in especial regard, particularly under a free government. All men of genius, and all those who have obtained distinction in the republic of letters, are brothers, whatever may be their country, and in whatever condition of life they may have been born. The learned men of Milan, did not enjoy the consideration, to which they were entitled. Buried in the recesses of their laboratories, they esteemed themselves happy if kings and priests left them unharmed. It is no longer thus: Italy is now free, there is no longer either inquisition, intolerance, or despotism. I invite men of science to unite, and lay before me their views, and the steps which they consider necessary to be taken in order to restore the fine arts to life, and give them a fresh existence, All those who wish to repair to France, shall be received there with distinction by the government. The French nation set a greater price on the acquisition of a learned mathematician, of a painter of note, of a distinguished man, of whatever profession, than on the wealthiest and most flourishing town.

"Citizen, exert yourself in making these sentiments known to the learned men of Milan.

"Bonaparte."

But this taste, this great activity of mind, which displayed an universality of genius; if it filled alike the friends and enemies of France with astonishment and admiration, did not fail to inspire the jealous government with alarm, which then ruled the Republic. The Directory foresaw their defeat by the conqueror of Montenotte and Lodi, and determined to put off the day to the utmost. With this view, they endeavoured to give a colleague to the man, who had proved, by a series of victories, that he knew how to act and conquer alone.

Bonaparte was not deceived as to the intention of the Directory, in appointing Kellerman to this post, and in a letter he confided his dissatisfaction to those of the Directors, whose character, services and wisdom had inspired him with esteem. "I consider," he wrote to Carnot, "that to join Kellerman with me in Italy would be to lose all. I cannot act willingly with a man, who considers himself the first general in Europe, and besides, in my opinion, one bad general is better than two good ones. War is like government, it is an affair requiring tact."

This letter being sent, Napoleon continued to act according to his own views, and to carry out his plans. He made his



triumphal entry into Milan on the 15th of May, whilst the peace was being signed at Paris, which he had himself imposed on Sardinia, at Montenotte, at Dégo, at Millésimo, and at Mondovi.

The Directory dared not carry out their project of associating Kellerman with him in the command; but contented themselves with appointing the latter governor-general of the countries ceded to France, by the late treaty with his Sardinian majesty, and Bonaparte retained undisturbed, the command in chief of the army of Italy.

His first care was to make the Adige the centre of his operations, and to establish the blockade of Mantua. The French army, however, scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men. The boldness of its general, caused no little alarm in the Aulic council. It was determined at length at Vienna, to

withdraw Wurmser from the banks of the Rhine, and to send him into Italy with a reinforcement of thirty thousand of the best troops.



Napoleon, on his part, could not conceal from himself that daily engagements, and sickness, might in the end, reduce his already enfeebled army to a number inadequate to face the Imperialists; and he ceased not to remind the Directory of the necessity of sending him recruits, and that the army of the Rhine might operate a powerful diversion, by actively renewing hostilities. "I imagine there will be some fighting on the Rhine," he wrote to Carnot a few days after his success at Lodi, "if the armistice lasted, the army of Italy would be destroyed; it would be worthy of the Republic to sign the treaty of peace with the three united armies, in the heart of Bavaria or Austria."

Napoleon had, moreover, a right to demand the co-operation of the armies of the Rhine, and the Sambre and Meuse, which had been formally promised him, on his departure from Paris, by the middle of April; whereas, these armies did not put themselves in motion, until the end of June, when Wurmser, whom a less tardy diversion might have detained in Germany,

had arrived in Italy with his reinforcements. Those of whom the French general claimed assistance were not sufficiently prompt; the Directory either from being unable, or from jealousy, remained deaf to his representations. Thus compelled to face with thirty thousand men, an army composed of nearly one hundred thousand, Napoleon sought for the best method



of weakening the numerical superiority of the Imperialists. His genius and good fortune did not abandon him in this instance. He formed a plan of marches, and counter-marches, of feigned attacks and retreats, of bold manœuvres, and rapid movements, hoping thereby to divide the three bodies of the enemy; and then, re-uniting his forces, return with all speed, attack, and beat them one after the other. The most complete success, justified the hopes of the great captain, who was powerfully seconded by the intelligence and bravery of the

generals, and of the Republican soldiers. Whilst Wurmser thought Napoleon occupied before Mantua, he quitted the siege of that place, and moving with the rapidity of lightning from the Po to the Adige, and from the Chiesa to the Mincio, he seemed to multiply himself, in order to be engaged, almost at the same time, with all the divisions of the enemy, which he overthrew, dispersed, and ruined, in a succession of battles which is renowned as the five days' campaign ; and which took place at Salo, at Lonado, at Castiglione, &c. Quosnadowich commanded the Austrians in most of these defeats ; but Wurmser was beaten in person, in the most disastrous of all, that of Castiglione.

In the recapitulation of this remarkable campaign, which the victorious general drew up on the field of battle, and which he sent to the Directory on the 6th of August, 1796, we find the following details :

"A few days since, the twenty thousand men, sent by the Austrian army of the Rhine, to reinforce that of Italy, arrived : which, in addition to a considerable number of recruits and numerous battalions from the interior of Austria, rendered this army extremely formidable; the general opinion was, that the Austrians would soon enter Milan.

"The enemy in descending from the Tyrol by Brescia and the Adige, passed on either side of me. Although the Republican army was too weak to face the divisions of the enemy, it might, nevertheless, beat each of them separately, and my position I found was between them. It was now possible for me, by a rapid retrograde movement, to hem in the division of the enemy just descended from Brescia, to take prisoner and completely defeat it; then to return to the Mincio, attack Wurmser and compel him to repass into the Tyrol: but to execute this project, it would be necessary to raise the siege of Mantua in twenty-four hours, which was on the point of being taken, seeing that it could not hold out six hours longer. It was necessary for this purpose immediately to

recross the Mincio, and not give the enemy time to surround me. Fortune smiled on this plan, and the battle of Dezenzano, the two battles at Salo, the battle of Lonado, and that of Castiglione, are the result.

" On the 16th, at daybreak, we found ourselves within view of the enemy. General Guieux who was on our left, was to attack Salo; General Masséna, in the centre, was to attack Lonado; General Augereau, who was stationed on the right, Castiglione. The enemy commenced by attacking the advance-guard of Masséna, who was at Lonado; it was already surrounded, General Digeon taken prisoner, and three pieces of our heavy artillery captured. Immediately I formed the 11th and the 32nd demi-brigades in a close column; and whilst by repeated charges, we endeavoured to break the enemy's lines, the latter extended their front, in order to surround us; this manœuvre appeared to me, a safe guarantee of the victory. Masséna only sent some riflemen upon the wings of the enemy, to retard their march; the first column which arrived at Lonado, forced the enemy; the 15th regiment of dragoons, charged the Houlans and recovered our artillery.

" In a short time the enemy found themselves scattered; and endeavoured to effect their retreat towards the Mincio. I gave orders to my aide-de-camp Junot, to put himself at the head of my company of guides, and pursue the enemy, in order to overtake them by Dezenzano; he fell in with colonel Bender, at the head of a part of his regiment of Houlans, whom he charged; but Junot not wishing to lose time in attacking the rear, turned the right wing of the regiment, and charging it in front, wounded the colonel, whom he endeavoured to take prisoner, but was himself surrounded, and after killing six men with his own hand, was overcome, and thrown into a ditch, having received six sabre cuts; happily they were not mortal.

" The enemy effected a retreat towards Salo; but that place belonging to us, nearly the whole of this division wandering in the mountains were taken prisoners. In the mean time,

Augereau, marched upon and took possession of the village of Castiglione; throughout the day, he made and sustained obstinate attacks against forces, double the number of his own; artillery, infantry, cavalry, all have behaved gallantly, and the



enemy on this memorable day, have been completely beaten on all sides. They have lost twenty pieces of cannon; from two to three hundred men killed or wounded, and four thousand prisoners, among which are three generals.

"During the whole of the 17th, Wurmser was occupied in re-assembling the wreck of his army, bringing up his reserve, withdrawing from Mantua all he possibly could, and arranging them in order of battle in the plain between the village Scanello, which flanked his right, and the Chiesa, flanking his left.

"The fate of Italy was not yet decided. He assembled a body of twenty-five thousand men, a numerous cavalry; and might still fairly reckon it in his power to turn the scale. On my part, I gave orders for all the columns of the army to re-unite.

"I went myself to Lonado, to ascertain what troops I

could draw from it; but what was my surprise on entering the place, to receive an officer, summoning the commandant of Lonado to surrender, since it was surrounded on all sides. In fact, the different videttes of cavalry, informed me, that several columns had reached our chief guard, and that the road from Brescia to Lonado was already intercepted at the bridge of San Marco. I then considered it could only be the remains of the division which had been cut off, and which, having again formed, were seeking to effect a safe retreat.

"This circumstance was very embarrassing; I had at Lonado not above twelve hundred men; I sent for the officer. As soon as the bandage was removed from his eyes, I told



him that if his chief had the presumption to take the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy, he had only to advance; for he might have known that I was at Lonado, since

everybody was acquainted with the fact of the Republican army being there; that all the generals and superior officers of his division should be responsible for the personal insult he had offered me; I also declarad that, if within eight minutes the whole of his division did not lay down their arms, I would grant them no mercy.

"The officer appeared quite surprised to see me there, and a moment after the column surrendered. It consisted of four thousand men, two pieces of cannon, and fifty cavalry; it came from Gavardo, and was seeking for an outlet whereby to escape. Not succeeding by the way of Salo, they endeavoured to pass by Lonado.

"On the 18th, at daybreak we found ourselves within view of the enemy; it was six o'clock in the morning, and nothing was yet stirring. I caused all the army to make a retrogade movement to draw the enemy towards us, whilst General Serrurier, whom I expected every minute from Macario, turned the left of Wurmser. This movement had partly the intended effect; Wurmser extended his army to the right, in order to make observations.

"As soon as we perceived the division of General Serrurier,



commanded by General Fiorella, attack the left wing, I ordered the Adjutant General Verdière to attack a redoubt

which the enemy had made in the middle of the plain to support their left wing. I instructed my aide-de-camp Marmont, with twenty pieces of light artillery, to force the enemy to abandon this advantageous post to us. After a brisk cannonade, the enemy made a precipitate retreat.

"Augereau attacked the centre of the enemy, supported by Solferino, Masséna attacked the right; Adjutant General Leclerc, at the head of the 3rd, marched to the assistance of the 4th demi-brigade.

"All the cavalry, under the command of General Beaumont, marched upon the right, to support the light artillery and infantry. We were everywhere victorious, and in every instance obtained the most complete success.

"We have taken eighteen pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty ammunition chests, they have lost about two thousand men, killed and taken prisoners. They have been completely routed; but our troops, harrassed and fatigued, were unable to pursue them above three leagues. Adjutant General Frontin was killed; this brave man died in front of the enemy.

"Thus, then, in five days has another campaign been completed. Wurmser lost in this period seventy field-pieces, his baggage, from twelve to fifteen thousand prisoners, six thousand killed or wounded, including nearly all the troops sent to his assistance from the Rhine. Independent of which, a great many are still scattered, whom we met with while pursuing the enemy. All the officers, soldiers, and the generals, have displayed throughout these trying circumstances the greatest bravery."

These wonderful events raised to the highest degree the enthusiasm of the people of Italy, who had manifested great sympathy for the French Revolution. The partisans of Austria were overthrown; they had had the imprudence to testify their joy on seeing Wurmser arrive, and to join the boasting Imperialists, who, by reason of their immense supe-

riority in numbers, celebrated beforehand the defeat of the French, and their expulsion from the Peninsula. Cardinal Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, was one of these. He had done more than rejoice at the approach of the Austrians; he had excited the populace, over whom he exercised a pacific authority, to acts of hostility against the French army. After the battle of Castiglione, Napoleon had him arrested, and conducted to Brescia. The Italian priest, warned by the failure of his insurrectional manœuvres, and by the defeat of his friends, did not shrink from humbling himself before the conqueror, and crying, *Peccavi.* This apparent contrition suc-



ceeded. Napoleon was satisfied with imprisoning him for three months. He was a Roman prince by birth, and was,

after this event, charged with the full powers of the holy see at Tolentino.

But this high priesthood was far from representing the spirit and disposition of the Italians towards France. In Piedmont, in Lombardy, and the Legations, the tenets of the Revolution had found numerous proselytes. The Milanese, in particular, had shewn themselves favourable to the Republican flag; the General-in-chief openly testified his gratitude



"When the army beat a retreat;" he wrote them, "a few partisans of Austria, and the enemies of freedom, looked upon it as irrevocably lost; when it was impossible for you to suspect that this retreat was but a stratagem, you evinced your attachment to France, your love of liberty; you have displayed a zeal and a character, which have merited for you the esteem of the army, and you will deserve the protection of the French Republic.

"Each day your people render themselves more worthy of liberty; each day they acquire fresh energy. Receive the testimony of my satisfaction, and the sincere vow the French nation have made to see you free and happy."

Napoleon did not rest satisfied with simply complimenting them, but made use of their favourable disposition, both for themselves and for the French Republic, as for the cause of

universal emancipation, in organizing the Revolution beyond the Alps, by the foundation of Transalpine and Cisalpine Republics. These important creations, which he contemplated in some degree, in passing from one field of battle to another, did not prevent his carrying on the war with vigour. Scarcely delivered from the formidable army which the cabinet of Vienna had sent to drive the French from Italy, he began again to press the siege of Mantua, into which city, Wurmser had just succeeded in throwing himself, with some troops and provisions, on the 15th of September, the same day that Legnago was taken, after being defeated in ten battles, viz.:—On the 6th of August, at Peschiera; the 11th, at Corona; the 24th, at Borgo Forte, and at Governalo; the 3rd of September, at Serravalle; the 4th, at Roveredo; the 5th, at Trente, which was taken; the 7th, at Covolo; the 8th, at Bassano; and on the 12th, at Cerca.

The day after his entry into Mantua, the wreck of his army was again put to the rout at Due-Castelli; and, the following day, the battle of Saint George's completed the ruin of the Imperial army.

But Wurmser was not abandoned by the court in this difficult position. The Emperor of Austria considered him the most skilful, and the most experienced of his generals; he knew, likewise, that Mantua was the key to his dominions. New efforts were, therefore, made at Vienna to repair the disasters of the first expedition, and to prepare, by the liberation of Mantua, and of Wurmser, that which kings and European aristocracies would call the deliverance of Italy.

A fresh army of Imperialists, consisting of about sixty thousand men, under the command of Marshal Alvinzi, hastened to the assistance of Mantua.

At the first report of the march of this army, Napoleon complained bitterly that his advice had not been followed, with respect to the Rhine, where the Republican troops were capable of making a useful diversion. He had earnestly

demanded succours, and none had been sent. Although placing the utmost confidence in himself and his troops, he considered that he ought to express some doubts to the Directory as to the issue of the new campaign, in order to make the French government comprehend the enormity of their misconduct towards the army of Italy, which they had neglected in the midst of its innumerable triumphs.

" I have to render you an account of what has passed since the 21st of this month. If it is unsatisfactory, you must not attribute blame to the army; its inferiority, and the loss of its bravest men, makes me fear for it. Perhaps we are on the eve of losing Italy. None of the expected succours has arrived; the 83rd demi-brigade has not set out; all assistance, coming through the departments, are stopped at Lyons, and particularly at Marseilles; they consider it of no import detaining them eight or ten days; they do not consider that the fate of Italy and of Europe is deciding here during that time: all the empire has been in motion, and is so still; the activity of our government at the commencement of the war can alone give an idea of the manner in which things are conducted at Vienna. Not a day passes in which there does not arrive five thousand men; and, for two months, when it is evident succour is wanted here, there has arrived only one battalion of the 40th, a wretched troop, and unused to stand fire, whilst all our veterans of the army of Italy belonging to the 8th division, repose at their ease. I do my duty, the army does the same: my soul is troubled, but my conscience is at rest. Succours! send me succours! but there must be no more child's play; it must be effective, and consist of such troops as are now under arms. Appoint six thousand men, the Minister of War will appoint six thousand effective men, and three thousand now under arms; three thousand will be reduced to fifteen hundred by the time they arrive at Milan; so that the army will only receive a reinforcement to that amount.

" Those who are wounded are the flower of the troops; all

our superior officers and best generals are disabled ; those that have arrived, are unskilful, they have not the confidence of soldiers. The army of Italy, reduced to a handful of men, is exhausted. The heroes of Lodi, of Millésimo, of Castiglione and of Bassano, have died for their country, or linger in the hospital; the army has nothing left but its reputation, and its pride. Joubert, Lannes, Lanusse, Victor, Murat, Charlot, Dupuis, Rampon, Pigeon, Menard, Chabran, are wounded; we are abandoned in the heart of Italy. The presumed number of my forces was of use to us; it was made known in Paris by official means, that we were only thirty thousand.

"I have lost in this war very few men, but all chosen troops, whom it will be impossible to replace. The brave fellows that still remain, look upon death as infallible, in the midst of such continual risks, and with forces so inferior; perhaps the hour of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Masséna, of Berthier, has struck. Then what will become of these brave soldiers? This idea renders me cautious; I dare no longer encounter death, which will be a subject of discouragement and misfortune for those who are the objects of my solicitude.

"In a few days we shall make a last effort: if fortune smiles on us, Mantua will be taken, and with it Italy. Reinforced by my besieging army, there is nothing which I dare not attempt. If I had received the 83rd, three thousand five hundred men strong, and acquainted with service, I would have answered for all! Perhaps, in a few days, forty thousand men will be insufficient."

The gloomy presentiments of Bonaparte, which most likely did not affect him so deeply as he represented, were not realized, and fortune smiled again on his arms.

A few days sufficed for the conqueror of Lodi to overthrow all the hopes that the coalition had founded upon the reputation of Alvinzi, and the numerical strength of his troops. A battle, lasting three days, and which was terminated by the memorable victory of Arcola, finished by making Europe



THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLA.

acknowledge the incontestable superiority of the French arms, against which the old Generals, and veterans of Austria struggled in vain. It was in this battle, that Napoleon, perceiving his grenadiers hesitate for a moment under the terrible fire of the enemy, which occupied some formidable positions, sprung to the ground, seized a flag and rushed upon the bridge of Arcola, exclaiming: "Soldiers! are you no longer the brave warriors of Lodi?—follow me!" Augereau did the same. These heroic examples did not fail to influence the result of the battle. Alvinzi lost thirty pieces of cannon, five thousand prisoners, and six thousand slain; Davidowich regained the Tyrol, and Wurmser re-entered Mantua.

The following is the way in which the fortunate conqueror of all these German warriors, expressed his joy and satisfaction; the manner in which he reposed after his fatigues and triumphs, by the effusion of the most lively affection for his wife—he wrote to Josephine from Verona: "At length, my adorable Josephine, I revive, death is no longer before my eyes, and honour and glory still exist in my heart. The enemy was defeated at Arcola. To-morrow we shall repair the folly of Vaubois, who abandoned Rivoli; in eight days Mantua will be ours;—and in your arms I shall soon be able to give you a thousand proofs of the ardent love of your husband. I shall be at Milan as quickly as possible. I am somewhat fatigued, I have received a letter from Eugene and Hortensia, they are charming children. As the whole of my household is somewhat dispersed, as soon as it has rejoined me, I will send them to you.

"We have taken five thousand prisoners, and killed at least six thousand of the enemy's troops. Adieu, my adorable Josephine, think of me often. If you cease to love your Achilles or suffer your heart to become cool, you will be frightfully unjust; but I am sure you will always love me, as I shall always remain affectionately yours. Death alone can dissolve the union, that sympathy, love, and sentiment, have

created. Send me news of your health; with a thousand thousand tender and loving kisses."

The same day, on the 19th of November, that is, the day after the battle of Arcola, the victorious general sent the following account to the Directory of that memorable event.

" They had thought proper to evacuate the village of Arcola, and at day-break we expected to be attacked by the whole of the enemy's army, which had found time to file off its baggage and prepare its artillery.

" Scarcely had the day begun to dawn, when they commenced on all sides with the greatest ardour. Masséna who was on the left, put the enemy to the rout, and pursued it to the gates of Caldero. General Robert, who was in the centre with the 65th, overthrew the enemy with the bayonet,



covering the field of battle with the slain. I ordered adjutant Vial, to pass the Adige with a demi-brigade, and turn the left of the enemy; but this country presents invincible obsta-

cles; it was in vain that this brave officer threw himself into the water up to his neck. He could not make a sufficient diversion. During the nights of the 26th and 27th, I had bridges thrown across the canals and marshes, and General Augereau crossed with his division. At ten o'clock in the morning we were in front of the enemy; General Masséna on the left, General Roberts in the centre, and General Augereau on the right. The enemy vigorously attacked the centre, which began to give way. I then withdrew the 32nd from



the left, and placed it in ambush in the wood, and at the moment in which the enemy charged the centre, and was upon the point of turning our right wing, General Gardanne leaving his ambush, attacked the enemy in flank, making a horrible carnage. The left of the enemy being protected by the marshes, and by its superiority in number, was an overmatch for our right wing: I therefore gave orders to citizen Hercule, an officer of my guides, to choose five-and-twenty

men from his company, to pass the Adige half a league further up, to turn all the marshes which supported the left of the enemy, and afterwards to charge their rear at full gallop, at the same time, furiously blowing several trumpets. This manœuvre succeeded perfectly; the infantry gave way; General Augereau knew how to profit by it at the moment. They still, however, made some show of resistance, although beating a retreat, when a small column of eight or nine hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, which I had sent round by Porto-Legnago, to take up a position in the rear of the enemy, succeeded in putting them to the rout. General Masséna, who had returned to the centre, marched straight to the village of Arcola, of which he took possession, and pursued the enemy to the village of San-Bonifacio; but night prevented our going further.

"The generals and chief officers have displayed a bravery and activity without parallel; twelve or fifteen have been killed, they literally fought to the death; there is not one whose clothes are not riddled with bullets."

Alvinzi, nevertheless, endeavoured to rally after his defeat; he returned with Provera, by the passes of the Tyrol, and this new aggression was only an opportunity for the Republican army to acquire fresh triumph for itself and its leader. The battle of Rivoli, those of Saint-Georges and La Favorita, in which victory constantly remained faithful to the Republican flag, reduced Provera to the necessity of surrendering with his troops, and almost within sight of Wurmser, who himself capitulated soon after in Mantua.

We read in the bulletins dictated by Bonaparte at his head-quarters at Roverbello, on the 17th and 18th of January 1797, and containing the details of these new victories, the following:

"On the 24th, the enemy rapidly constructed a bridge at Anghiari, and made the van-guard pass over about a league from Porto-Legnago; at the same time General Joubert

informed me that a considerable column were filing past Montagna, and threatened to turn his van-guard at Corona. Various circumstances made me acquainted with the actual project of the enemy, and I no longer doubted that he intended with the greater part of his forces attacking my line at Rivoli, and thus succeed in reaching Mantua. During the night, I made nearly the whole division of General Masséna set out, and repaired myself to Rivoli, where I arrived two hours after midnight.

" I immediately ordered General Joubert again to take up the important position of San Marco; I furnished the plain



of Rivoli with artillery, and disposed everything so as to be able, at daybreak, to act on the offensive, and march upon the enemy myself.

"At daybreak our right wing and the enemy's left, met upon the heights of San Marco: the encounter was terrible and obstinate.

"We had been fighting for three hours, and the enemy had not yet drawn out all their forces; one of the foe's columns, which was drawn out along the Adige, under the protection of a great number of field pieces, marched directly to take possession of the plain of Rivoli, and by this menace to turn the right and the centre. I ordered Leclerc, the general of cavalry, to be in readiness to charge the enemy if they succeeded in taking possession of the plain, and sent Lasalle, chief of a squadron of horse, with fifty dragoons, to take the enemy's infantry which attacked the centre, in flank, and to charge vigorously. At the same time General Joubert had sent down several battalions from the heights of San Marco, which rushed to the plain. The enemy, who had already arrived, was briskly attacked on all sides, and leaving a great number dead, and a part of their artillery, re-entered the valley of the Adige. Almost at the same moment the column which had already been some time on the march, intending to turn us, and cut off all retreat, ranged itself in order of battle. I had kept the 75th in reserve, which not only held this column in awe, but attacked its left, which had advanced, and immediately routed it. The 18th demi-brigade arrived during these transactions, and in the mean time General Rey had taken up a position behind the column that was to have turned us. I immediately gave orders to cannonade the enemy with a few twelve-pounders; I ordered the attack, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole of this column, which consisted of more than four thousand men, were made prisoners.

"The enemy being everywhere defeated, we pursued them on all sides, and during the whole of the night prisoners were constantly being brought in. Fifteen hundred men who had escaped by Guarda, were stopped by fifty men of the 18th

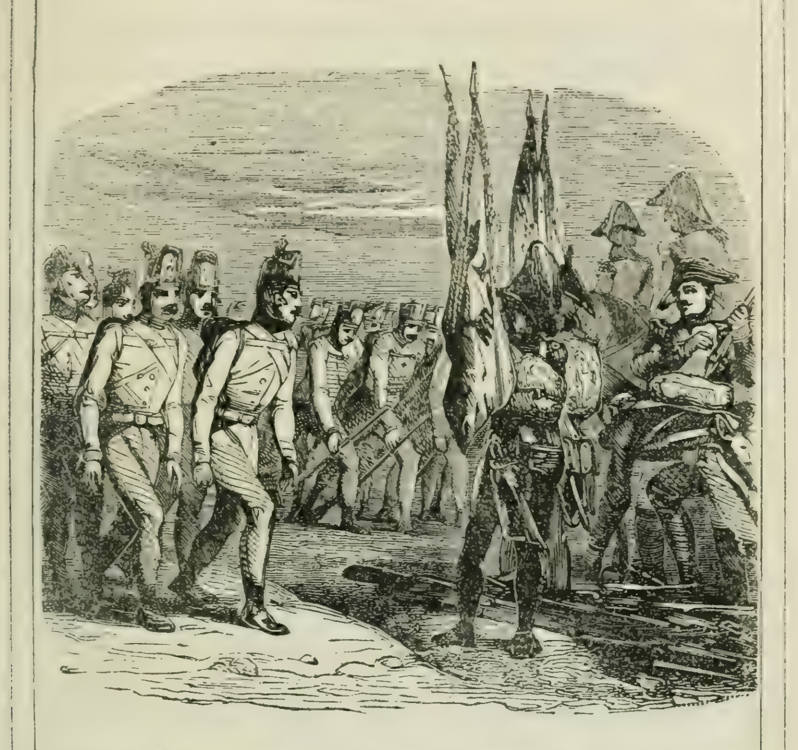


who, the moment they recognized them, confidently marched upon, and ordered them to lay down their arms.

"The enemy was still master of Corona, but could no longer be considered dangerous. It was necessary to march immediately against the division of General Provera, who had passed the Adige on the 24th at Anghiari. I ordered General Victor to file off with the brave 57th, and fall back on General Masséna, who, with a part of his division arrived at Roverbello on the 25th.

"I left orders with General Joubert on my departure, to attack the enemy at day-break, if he should be rash enough to remain at Corona.

"General Murat had marched all night with a demi-brigade of light infantry, and appeared in the morning on the heights of Montebaldo, which commanded Corona, in fact



after a bold resistance, the enemy was put to the rout, and those who escaped the day before were now taken prisoners. The cavalry could only escape by swimming across the Adige, and many were drowned in the attempt.

"In two days at Rivoli we have taken thirteen thousand prisoners, and nine pieces of cannon."

The rest of the bulletin is devoted to the description of the battles of Saint George, Anghiari, and La Favorita, against General Provera. At the second battle of Anghiari, a colonel of hussars presented himself before a squadron of the 9th regiment of dragoons, and in the boasting style of the Austrians called upon them to surrender. Citizen Duvivier made his squadron halt, and replied: "If you have the courage, come and take me;" the two detachments halted while their chiefs

engaged in single combat, in the manner of the warriors of the ages of chivalry. The colonel of hussars was wounded by



two sabre-cuts; the troops then charged, and the hussars were taken prisoners.

"On the 27th, an hour before day-break, the enemy attacked La Favorita, and at the same time Wurmser making a sally, attacked the lines of blockade by Saint Antoine. General Victor at the head of the 57th demi-brigade, overthrew all before him. Wurmser had scarcely quitted Mantua when he was compelled to re-enter it, leaving the field of battle covered with dead, and prisoners of war. Serrurier then ordered General Victor to advance with the 57th demi-brigade, in order to drive Provera into the suburbs of Saint George, and there to keep him blockaded; in consequence of which, con-

fusion and disorder were soon spread through the enemy's ranks; cavalry, infantry, and artillery were all pell-mell. The



terrible 57th demi-brigade, which nothing could stop, on one side took three pieces of cannon, on the other dismounted the regiment of hussars of Herdendy. At this instant the worthy General Provera asked to capitulate; he depended on our generosity and was not deceived. We granted him the capitulation, of which I shall forward you the articles; six thousand prisoners, including all the volunteers of Vienna, and twenty pieces of cannon, were the fruits of this memorable day.

"The Republican army has in four days gained two pitched battles and several actions; made nearly twenty-five thousand prisoners, among whom are a lieutenant-general, two

generals, from twelve to fifteen colonels, etc; and has also captured twenty stand of colours, sixty pieces of cannon, and killed or wounded at least six thousand men."

So many reverses could not fail to prepare Wurmser for a capitulation, and likewise convince him that the siege of Mantua would finish like all the other enterprises of the Republican army.

When summoned to surrender, he sent his chief aide-de-camp, General Klenau, to the head-quarters of General Serrurier who was at Roverbello, but who would not entertain any proposal without first referring to the General-in-chief.

Napoleon had a mind to be present incognito at the conference. He came to Roverbello, wrapped himself in his military cloak, and commenced writing, whilst Klenau and



Serrurier were engaged in the discussion. He wrote his conditions on the margin of the paper containing Wurmser's

proposals, and when he had finished, said to the Austrian general, who had most likely taken him for a mere camp secretary, "If Wurmser had only eighteen or twenty days' provisions, and talked of surrendering, he would not deserve any honourable capitulation. These are the conditions I will grant him," he added, returning the paper to Serrurier, "you will especially observe that his person will be free, for I honour his great age, and his merit, and do not wish him to become the victim of his enemies at Vienna, who aim at his destruction. If he opens his gates to-morrow, he may have the conditions I have just written; if he delays a fortnight, a month, or two months, he shall have the same. He may, therefore, delay until he is reduced to the last morsel of bread. I shall at once set out to pass the Po, and march against Rome. You know my intentions, go and report them to your chief."

Surprised to find himself in the presence of Napoleon, and full of admiration and gratitude for what he had heard, Klenau acknowledged that Wurmser had not provisions for three days. The old marshal was not less affected than his aide-de-camp, on learning what had passed at the conference at Roverbello. He evinced his gratitude to Napoleon, by apprising him of a conspiracy which was formed to poison him at Romagna. Serrurier in the absence of the General-in-chief, presided at the surrender of Mantua, February 1st, 1797.

Three days after the capitulation of Mantua, Bonaparte, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Pope, sent a column of the French army against Rome, and published on the 6th of February, 1797, from his head-quarters at Bologna, a proclamation which commenced as follows:

"The French army is about to enter the dominions of the Pope; it will protect the religion and the people.

"The French soldier carries the bayonet in one hand, a safe guarantee of victory, and offers with the other, peace, protection, and safety to the different towns and villages; woe to those who despise it, and who, misled by hypocrites and villains

who would draw down war with all its horrors on their heads, and the vengeance of an army, which has in six months made prisoners a hundred thousand of the Emperor's best troops, taken four hundred pieces of cannon, a hundred and ten standards, and destroyed five armies."

The resistance of the Holy See could not be of any moment. Pius the Sixth, menaced in his capital, silenced his denunciations and hostile disposition, and hastened to sue for peace from the Republican general, who granted it by a treaty on the 19th of February, and on the following conditions: 1st. That the Pope should renounce all claim to Avignon and its demesnes; 2nd. The cession in perpetuity to the French Republic, of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; 3rd. That he should give up all the works of art demanded by Bonaparte, such as the Apollo di Belvidere, Raphael's Transfiguration, etc; 4th. That he should re-establish the French school at Rome, and pay under the denomination of Military Contributions, fifteen millions in money or its equivalent." To this treaty, Pius VI. consented on the 22nd of February, and in a remarkable letter, styled Bonaparte *his dear son.*

However, the repeated reverses of the Austrian armies had humiliated and dismayed the Aulic council, without overcoming their deep-seated hatred to the French Revolution, and without inspiring them with pacific ideas; exhausted by war, they obstinately determined to brave fortune, and struggle with the wreck of their formidable armies against the victorious leader who had so easily dispersed and destroyed them, when at the summit of their confidence and power. The Archduke Charles was sent into Italy, to take the command of the Imperial troops, and to endeavour to repair the disasters of his predecessors. Believing at first that Bonaparte was occupied in punishing the Pope for his violation of the treaty of Bologna, and had taken with him the greater portion of his army, he thought to profit by this absence to press the attack, and made General Guyeux repass the Brenta; but he was

soon convinced of his error, Napoleon who had only led four or five thousand men to Rome, re-appeared on the Brenta, and early in March fixed his head-quarters at Bassano, where he published the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers!

"The taking of Mantua has finished a campaign which has given you imperishable claims to the gratitude of your country.

"You have gained fourteen pitched battles and seventy actions; you have made more than a hundred thousand prisoners, taken from the enemy five hundred field-pieces, two thousand cannon, and four pontoon trains.

"The contributions imposed on the country you have conquered, have fed, maintained, and paid the army during the whole campaign; you have besides sent thirty millions of francs to the Minister of Finance, for the benefit of the public treasury.

"You have enriched the Museum of Paris with more than three hundred master-pieces of the arts of ancient and modern Italy, the labour of thirty centuries.

"You have conquered for the Republic the finest countries in Europe; the Cispadane and Transpadane Republics are indebted to you for liberty; the French colours wave for the first time on the shores of the Adriatic, opposite, and at twenty-four hours' sail from ancient Macedon; the kings of Sardinia, of Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and have since solicited our friendship; you have driven the English from Livourne, from Genoa, and from Corsica. But you have not yet achieved sufficient, you are destined to still greater glory; on you the country founds its dearest hopes; you will continue to be worthy of them.

"Of all the enemies who conspired to stifle the Republic in its birth, the Emperor of Austria alone remains before us. Degrading himself from the rank of a great power, this prince has placed himself in the pay of the London merchants; he

has no longer any will of his own, or any politics than those dictated by these perfidious Islanders, who, strangers to the hardships of war, can smile serenely at the miseries of the Continent.

"The executive Directory has spared nothing to procure peace for Europe, the moderation of its proposals reflected not on the strength of its armies; it has not consulted your courage, but humanity, and the desire of enabling you to return to your families; it has not been listened to at Vienna. There is then no more hope for peace, but by seeking it in the heart of the hereditary States of the house of Austria. You will find there a brave people weakened by the war they have been carrying on against the Turks, as well as by the present war. The inhabitants of Vienna and the States of Austria, groan under the burden of their blind and arbitrary government. There is not one who is not convinced that the the Emperor's ministers are corrupted by English gold. You will protect their property, and respect their religion and manners. It is liberty you carry to the brave Hungarian Nation.

"The house of Austria, which for three centuries, in every war, has lost a portion of its power, and renders its people dissatisfied by stripping them of their privileges, will find itself reduced at the end of the sixth campaign, since it compels us to commence it, to accept that peace which we shall be inclined to grant, and to descend in reality, to the rank of a secondary power, in which it has already placed itself, by receiving the wages, and placing itself at the disposal of England."

Napoleon dissatisfied with conquering the Emperor in Italy, without being able to bring him to a negociation, had in effect resolved to carry the war into Austria, in order that the appearance of the tri-coloured flag under the walls of Vienna, might produce upon the Austrian council a more powerful and deeper impression, than the distant reverses of Beaulieu, of Provera, of Alvinzi, and of Wurmser. His plan was to enter Germany by the Carinthian road, and to take up a

position on the Simmering. He made Masséna occupy the passes of Osopo and of Ponteba, who after having passed the



Piave and the Tagliamento, in the mountains, beat Prince Charles on the 19th of March, 1797, pursued him sword in hand, took possession of Feltre, Cadore, and Bellune, and made a great number of prisoners, amongst whom was General Lusignan, a French emigrant, who had insulted his sick countrymen in the hospitals of Brescia at the time of the feigned retreat of the Republican army. On the 16th the battle of Tagliamento finally deprived the Archduke of the hopes he had entertained on entering Italy, and which had inspired the court.

Prince Charles thus beaten and humiliated, decided upon a retreat, but did not succeed in effecting it, until after having experienced daily defeats in the contests of Lavis, Tramins,

Clausen, Tarvis, Gradisca, Villach, Palma-Nova, etc. On the 31st, Napoleon was at Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia. On entering this province he addressed a proclamation to its inhabitants, to induce them to consider the French as their deliverers, and not as enemies. "The French nation," said he, "is friendly to all nations, and particularly to the brave people of Germany. You abhor as we do the English, who are the sole gainers by the war, and your ministers who are sold to them."

In the midst of these triumphs, Napoleon kept his eye on a secret enemy which, for a long time, had only awaited a favourable opportunity to declare itself; this was the senate of Venice. This body essentially aristocratic and devoted to the coalition of the kings against the French Revolution, fomented the insurrection, and incited the populace to assassination in upper Italy and the Venetian territory, against the Republican army. The day of punishment, however, was not far distant, Bonaparte wrote to the Doge:

"All the continent of the mighty Republic of Venice is in arms. On all sides the rallying cry of the peasants you have armed is, 'Death to the French;' several hundred soldiers of the army of Italy have already been their victims. It is in vain that you deny having organized these murderers, do you think that because I am in the heart of Germany, I shall be unable to make the first nation in the universe respected? Do you think that the legions of Italy will suffer the massacre which you have excited? The blood of my brothers in arms, shall be avenged, and there is not one of the French battalions, which, charged with so noble an office, will not feel its courage and its means redoubled. The senate of Venice has responded with the blackest perfidy to the generous manner in which we have ever treated it. I send you my first aide-de-camp as bearer of the present letter. War or peace. If you do not immediately take steps to disperse your brigands; if you do not arrest and deliver into my hands the authors of the assassi-

nations which have just been perpetrated, war is declared. The Turk is not on your frontiers, no enemy threatening ; you have purposely given rise to pretexts, in order apparently to justify the combinations directed against the army; they must be dissolved within twenty-four hours. If against the wish of the French government you compel me to make war, do not imagine that, after the example of the soldiers you have armed, the French will ravage the country and destroy the innocent and unfortunate people of the continent; I will protect them, and they will one day bless the very crimes which have obliged the French army to withdraw them from your tyrannical government."

On the 7th April, an armistice was concluded at Judenburgh. When Prince Charles found himself quite unable to keep the field, the defiles of Newmark, and the position of Hundsmark being occupied by Masséna, he began to comprehend that the monarchical inflexibility of the Austrian cabinet was no longer seasonable. Napoleon, who on his side, reckoned upon the junction of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and who now learnt that that army had not moved, nor would do so, dared not pass the Simmering, for fear of finding himself isolated and without support, in the heart of Germany. As soon, therefore, as he received the message from the Directory, which officially announced that the armies of the Rhine, and the Sambre and Meuse, would not make the diversion of which he had pointed out the importance and the necessity, he hastened to write to the Archduke offering to share with him the glory of giving peace to Europe, and of putting an end to the immense sacrifices which war had cost Austria and France. " Brave soldiers," said he, " make war, but wish for peace. Have we killed men enough, and caused sufficient misfortunes to unhappy mankind? You, who by birth are so near the throne, and are above the petty passions which frequently actuate ministers and governments, are you disposed to merit the title of a benefactor to all mankind, and become the true

saviour of Germany? As for me, if the overture which I have just made can save the life of a single man, I shall be prouder of the civic crown which I shall have merited, than of the melancholy glory which military success confers." The pacific dispositions contained in this letter, were soon known at Vienna; where it somewhat abated the consternation which the approach of the Republican flag had spread there. The Emperor immediately sent the Neapolitan ambassador Gallo, to Bonaparte, and the armistice of Judenburgh was the result.

Napoleon took advantage of the leisure which the suspension of arms allowed him, to complain to the Directory of the apathy in which the army of Germany had persisted, whilst he struggled in Italy with such weak resources against the whole strength of the Austrian monarchy. Caring little for the past, to which he could turn without regret, he busied his thoughts with the future, and claimed more earnestly than ever the co-operation of Moreau, in order to obtain better conditions in the treaty of peace, or greater chances of success in case of a renewal of hostilities. "If we desired to take the field, there is nothing can prevent us; and, never since history has recorded military operations, has a river been a real obstacle. If Moreau wishes to cross the Rhine, he will cross it; and if he had done so already, we should have been able to dictate the conditions of peace imperatively, and without running any risk; but he who is afraid of losing his glory, is sure to be deprived of it. I have passed the frozen Alps. If I had only considered the comfort of the army, and my own private interest, I should have stopped on this side of Isonzo; I have thrown myself into Germany to disengage the army of the Rhine, and prevent the enemy from acting on the offensive. I am at the gates of Vienna, and that insolent and haughty court has its plenipotentiaries at my head-quarters. The armies of the Rhine can have no blood in their veins if they leave me to myself; I shall then return into Italy. All

Europe shall judge of the difference of conduct of the two armies."—

Negociations being opened at Leoben, the preliminaries of peace were signed there on the 18th April, 1797. Bonaparte, in an interview with the Austrian plenipotentiaries said to them: "Your government has sent against me four armies without generals, and this time a general without an army." The commissioners had set down as the first article of the projected treaty, that the Emperor recognized the French Republic. "Erase it," cried Napoleon; "the existence of the Republic is as plain as the sun; this article is only fit for the blind."

It was now time to think of Venice. The Republic had madly run to meet the danger which threatened it. Its nobles attached to Austria, seemed to expect assistance from that quarter; united and in conjunction with an Italian priesthood,



they raised the ignorant populace on the shores of the Adriatic, and caused a number of French to be assassinated in Verona,

during the Easter festival. The ministers of religion forgetting their mission of peace and charity, madly preached to the people, that it was permitted, and even meritorious to slay the Jacobins.

Bonaparte hastened immediately to put an end to the revolt and assassination in Verona, and to hurl his vengeance on the Venetians. On hearing of the insurrection, he said to his old comrade Bourrienne, whom he had made his private secretary, and who had narrowly escaped perishing under their poniards on his way to rejoin him. "Be tranquil, those villains shall pay dearly for it. *Their Republic has been.*" A few days after, he wrote to the Directory, that "the only course to be taken, was to destroy this ferocious and sanguinary government; and erase the Venetian name from the face of the earth."

In vain did those officers who had been appointed to supply the army with provisions at Brescia, Bergame, and Cremona, insinuate that the French had provoked the excesses of which they had been the victims; Bonaparte solemnly denied this in a manifesto which was the death summons to the Venetian aristocracy; it concluded with the following resolutions: "The General-in-chief requires the French minister in the republic of Venice to leave the said town; orders that the different agents of the republic of Venice, in Lombardy and the Venetian states, quit the same in twenty-four hours.

"Ordered that the different generals regard the troops of the Venetian republic as foes; and cast down the winged lion of St. Mark, in every town where it is found displayed."

These orders were punctually executed. Terror took possession of the Great Council of Venice. They resigned their power, and yielded the sovereignty to the people, who entrusted the exercise of its authority to a municipality. On the 16th of May, the tri-coloured flag was hoisted in St. Mark's Place, by General Baraguay d'Hilliers. The most democratic revolution took place throughout the whole of the Venetian



states. Dandolo, a lawyer of Venice, one of the only two men possessed of merit, whom Napoleon declared he had been able to meet with, in Italy, was placed at the head of their provisional government. The lion of St. Mark and the Corinthian horses, which have since served to ornament the triumphal arch cf the Carrousel, were sent to Paris.

Whilst the negociations were in progress with Austria, Napoleon learned that Hoche and Moreau had crossed the Rhine. Only a few days before, the Directory had announced to him that the passage would not be attempted; as the denial of this powerful co-operation had alone determined him to suspend hostilities, and to stop at the gates of Vienna; he

saw himself condemned to assist, whilst his sword was sheathed and he bound by an armistice, the military movements which he had claimed and solicited in vain for two months, and at a time when they could have assisted him in planting the Republican Standard in the capital of Austria. It was evident that his too rapid successes had alarmed the Directory and that they foresaw the Emperor in the conqueror of Italy. He has himself confessed at Saint Helena that after the battle of Lodi, it had struck him, that he might become a decisive actor in the political arena. Thence arose the first spark of his lofty ambition.

The Directors who had perceived this spark, and feared that it would set fire to the Republican edifice which they occupied, opposed its progress and developement, urged as they were by personal jealousy, and the shadowy instinct of Democracy, they saw with vexation, that the national gratitude, and the admiration of Europe were likely to centre in this one man, and they would not furnish him with the means of putting a finish to the infatuation of which he was the object, by entering triumphantly into Vienna, at the head of all the Republican armies. Napoleon guessed their motives; which, however, did not deter him from expressing his dissatisfaction in all his letters and conversations. But the Directory could much better dissimulate the motive for its strange conduct, as General Bonaparte, commander of the army of the interior after the Vendémiare, had conceived, and himself left in the archives of the war, a plan of his intended campaign, which fixed the term of hostilities and the pacification to the bank of the Simmering. He had thus himself raised the very obstacle he was now anxious to surmount. But the conqueror of Prince Charles had necessarily more vast ideas, and less moderate views, than the conqueror of the citizens of Paris.

Bonaparte was on an isle formed by the rising of the Tagliamento when a courier brought him news of the passage of the Rhine by Moreau. "Nothing," says M. de Bourrienne,



"could paint the emotion of the General on reading these despatches. The confusion of his ideas was such, that he for a moment determined to recross to the left bank of the Tagliamento and break the truce on any pretext. 'How different,' he said, 'would have been the preliminaries, if indeed they had ever existed!'" It is certain that Napoleon would not have evinced the pacific disposition which he manifested in his letter to Prince Charles, if he could have reckoned on the co-operation of the armies of Germany. The conquest of Vienna would have incited him as much as that of Rome had been unable to tempt him. The jealousy and suspicious duplicity of the Directory did not permit him this time to satisfy his ambition.

Negociations were carried on slowly, the General-in-chief profited by the leisure the armistice allowed him, to visit Lombardy and the states of Venice, and to organize a government there. For the purpose he needed men, and he sought for them in vain. "Good God," he exclaimed, "how scarce are men! There are in Italy eighteen millions and with difficulty do I find two, Dandolo and Melzi."

In the end, fatigued by the shackles that the leaders of the Republic had imposed on the execution of his plans, and disgusted by the delay of the Austrian diplomatists, Bonaparte spoke of resigning the command of the army of Italy, and of seeking in retirement and solitude that repose of which he pretended he was in need. It was, doubtless, merely a threat which he had no wish to realize. He did not believe they could do without him, after the service he had rendered, the prodigious talent he had evinced, and the immense popularity he had acquired. The announcement of his resignation appeared to him an event of sufficient importance to compromise in the eyes of the nation, the government which had provoked it by its injustice, and accepted it through an excess of ingratitude and envy. But this was only a false alarm; He contented himself with complaining bitterly, and assuming by degrees a more arrogant and lofty tone in his official correspondence, after having declared that from the position of things, the negociations, even with the Emperor, had become a military occupation, which rendered him the arbiter of peace and war, and prepared him to hold the same position with respect to the fate of the Republic; he affected to be sated with glory, in order to convince his admirers, his rivals and his enemies, that not his own, but the interests of France were the sole motives of the great activity he displayed, "I threw myself upon Vienna," said he in one of his letters, "having acquired more glory than was necessary for happiness, and having in my rear, the superb plains of Italy, as at the commencement of the last campaign, seeking bread for the

army, which the Republic could no longer support." The Directory was besides assisted in its base jealousy and fear by the conspiracies set on foot by the Royalists, who were just recovering from their former defeat. It was natural that the party opposed to the Revolution should dread the influence of the General who had saved the Republic by fifty victories, and whose renown, glory, and existence, were blended with the safety and progress of the Revolution. The orators and writers of this party, profited by the unlimited liberty of the pulpit and the



press, to spread all sorts of reports, and to induce credit to be given to suspicions most injurious to the character and projects

of Napoleon. The Directory, notwithstanding its struggling condition, with respect to the Clichy society, allowed them to say and do all that they wished and dared, against the Hero of Arcola and Lodi. They printed in the journals and pamphlets, they proclaimed in their Council and Meetings, that the government of Venice had been the victims of the perfidy and private malice of the French General, and that all these assassinations they had so loudly complained of, and so signally avenged, had been foreseen and contrived at the head-quarters of the Republican army. Dumolard, one of the leading Royalists, in making a motion, used a phrase which mentioned expressly the doubts which had arisen in the Councils of the Ancients, on the causes and the importance of the violation of the rights of nations, committed at Venice. Napoleon, being informed of all these attacks and malicious insinuations, thus wrote to the Directory; "I had a right to expect," said he, "after having concluded five treaties of peace, and given a decisive blow to the coalition, if not civic triumphs, at least to live in peace and tranquillity, and under the protection of the chief magistrates of the Republic. On the contrary I find myself basely insulted, injured, and traduced, by every shameful means which political cunning lends to persecution."

"We have been assassinated by traitors, more than four hundred men have perished, and the chief magistrates of the Republic would make it a crime to have believed it for a moment!

"I know very well there are societies where it has been asked, 'Was this blood then so pure?'

"Had infamous men, or those dead to all sentiments of patriotism and national glory spoken thus, I should not have complained, I should have paid no attention to it; but I have a right to complain of the indignities, with which the chief magistrates of the Republic load those, who have aggrandized and raised the glory of the French name to so great a height.

"I repeat, Citizen Directors, the request I have made for my dismissal. I wish to live in peace if the daggers of Clichy will permit me. You have charged me with some negociations, I am unfitted for them."

A short time previous he had written to Carnot: "I received your letter, my dear Director, on the field of battle at Rivoli, I saw with contempt all that was laid to my account. Every one makes me speak according to his fancy. I believe you know me too well to imagine that I could be influenced by any one, I have always had to thank you for the marks of friendship you have shewn me and mine; and I shall always be grateful for it. There are men who cannot exist without hatred, and who, being unable to shake the Republic, console themselves by sowing discord and dissention wherever they find the opportunity. As for myself, whatever they may say will be immaterial; the esteem of a few persons like yourself, and that of my comrades and soldiers, perhaps also the opinion of posterity, and above all, a clear conscience and the prosperity of my country, will alone interest me."

Napoleon himself replied to the calumnies of the Clichy faction, on the subject of Venice, and caused to be distributed among the army, for this purpose, an anonymous circular, which refuted all the lying assertions of the royalists.

There was but little sincerity as we have already remarked, in his offer to resign. With regard to that modesty which led him to declare himself unfit for diplomatic labours, we can judge the weight of his declaration by the following, which relates to the negociation of Campo-Formio, and which he himself related at Saint Helena.

"M. de Cobentzel," said he, "was the man of the Austrian monarchy, the soul of its projects, and the director of its diplomacy. He had been employed in the first embassies of Europe, and was for a long time at the court of Catharine, whose particular favour he had gained. Proud of his rank and importance, he imagined the dignity of his manners and

courtly address, would easily silence a general from the Revolutionary camp; accordingly he accosted the French General with considerable levity; but the position and the first words of the latter were sufficient to place him immediately in his station, from which, in future, he never attempted to emerge."—"The conferences," adds M. de Las-Cases, "were at first very tedious. M. de Cobentzel, according to the custom of the Austrian cabinet, shewed himself very skilful in carrying matters to a great length. The French General, however, resolved to come to the point at once; the conference which he had determined should be the last, was conducted with great vehemence; he demanded a decisive answer to his proposals, and they were rejected. Rising in a passion he energetically exclaimed, "You wish for war? well then, you shall have it!" and seizing a magnificent porcelain vase, which M. de Cobentzel daily boasted had been given him by the great Catharine, he dashed it with all his strength on the floor, shivering it into a thousand pieces. "Look," said he, "such shall be the fate of your Austrian monarchy in less than three months, I promise you." He immediately hastened from the apartment, leaving M. de Cobentzel petrified; but M. de Gallo, who was much more conciliating accompanied the French General to his carriage, endeavouring to detain him; "bowing most profoundly," continues the Emperor, "and in so piteous an attitude that, notwithstanding, my apparent anger, I could not help laughing heartily to myself."

This mode of negociating which seemed to justify what Napoleon had said as to his inaptitude for diplomacy, did not fail, however, to produce the effect he desired.

On this occasion rudeness might pass for skill and address. It was necessary to put an end to the slow calculations and perfidious hesitations of the Austrian cabinet. Napoleon contributed to hasten this by breaking Catharine's present. His violence on this occasion served the interests of France better than the polished cunning of a veteran courtier could



have done. He could put himself in a passion at proper times, and it may be said that if he was wanting in etiquette and politeness, it was in order to deserve well of his country, and of humanity, by accelerating the conclusion of peace.

But whilst Napoleon vexed himself in Italy at the interminable lengths of the diplomatic conferences, and of the inactivity which the ill-will of the Directory had imposed upon him; and at the insults addressed to him by the factions of the interior, from all parts of Europe, by the intermediation of emigrants and paid correspondents, the existence of the Directory was threatened by a Royalist majority in the two Councils.

The Army of Italy which had conquered in so many battles under Republican colours, and the illustrious' chief who had led them so rapidly from victory to victory, necessarily fixed the attention of both parties, and raised the fears of the one,

and the hopes of the other. Napoleon, of late openly or secretly calumniated by the Clichy club and the Directory, beheld himself all at once sought for, and flattered on all sides. Francis Ducoudray, one of the most influential orators of the monarchical majority, was not afraid to give the title of 'hero,' to the *mitrailleur* of the 13th Vendémaire, and saying, "That he had distinguished himself by his talents as a negociator, after having in eight months equalled the most illustrious men in the art of war."

But these interested praises of a skilful man could not cover the hatred that his party nourished and breathed in their publications and meetings against the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy. Aubry, the old enemy of Bonaparte, was one of the leaders of the re-union of Clichy. Supported by some furious orators, he demanded loudly the deposition and arrest of Napoleon. This was sufficient for the latter not to hesitate between the Directory and the Councils. But he despised the Directory, in which body there was but one man whose character he esteemed, and whose services and capacity he acknowledged, and this man, Carnot, had separated himself from the Directorial majority, from constitutional scruples, which made him object to repulsing the encroachments of royalty by violent measures. However, overcoming his contempt for Barras, he had decided upon marching for Paris, by the way of Lyons, at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and would have carried out this project, if the chances of success had remained with the Clichyans, in the capital. What determined him especially to give his powerful support to the Directors, in opposition to the majority of the Councils, was the discovery of the treason of Pichegru, who was at the head of this majority, and whose criminal understanding with a stranger, was detected by the seizure of the papers of the famous Count D'Antraigues, an intriguing Royalist, who was surprised and arrested in the states of Venice, and left at liberty on his *parole* at Milan, which he shamefully broke, and

escaped into Switzerland, where he published an infamous libel against Napoleon.

The indignation of Bonaparte against the foreign party, evinced itself in the address which he sent in the name of the Army of Italy to intimidate the Councils and reassure the Directory. "Does the road to Paris," he said to his companions in arms, "offer more obstacles than that to Vienna? No! it will be opened to us by the Republicans who have re-



mained faithful to liberty. Reunited, we will defend them, and our enemies will no longer exist.

"Men covered with ignominy, thirsting for vengeance, and saturated by crime, employed themselves by plotting in the heart of Paris, whilst we were triumphing at the gates of Vienna. You who have made contempt, infamy, outrage, and

death, the portion of the defenders of the Republic, tremble! from the Adige to the Rhine, and the Seine, is but a step, tremble! your iniquities are recorded, and their reward is at the point of our bayonets."

Napoleon chose as the bearer of this address, Augereau, the one of his generals who might best have aspired to act a leading part, and even to eclipse the General-in-chief, by his personal consistency in the midst of the approaching circumstances. As to the money which Barras had asked for, through the agency of his secretary Bottot, to ensure success on the pre-meditated day, Napoleon contented himself by promising, but never remitting it. He sent, however, his aide-de-camp Lavallette to Paris, relying upon his zeal and perspicuity to be informed of everything, and even to act according as events might require.

The intimacy between Bonaparte and Desaix commenced about this period. Desaix employed in the Army of the Rhine, observed with admiration the triumphs of the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy. He profited by the leisure which the armistice of Leoben allowed him, to come and admire the great captain. These two men understood, and were pleased with each other at first sight. In one of their conversations, Napoleon wished to confide to his new friend the secret of Pichegru's treason: "We knew this on the Rhine three months ago," said Desaix. "A waggon taken from General Klinglin, gave us possession of all Pichegru's correspondence with the enemies of the Republic."—"But did not Moreau make this known to the Directory?"—"No!"—"Then he is guilty; when the safety of the country is concerned, silence renders him an accomplice." After the 18th Fructidor, Pichegru found himself apprehended, and ignominiously denounced by Moreau. "By not speaking sooner," said Napoleon, "he has betrayed the country; by speaking thus late, he has overwhelmed one already fallen." Bonaparte learnt with extreme joy, the defeat and proscription of the Clichyans, which Augereau announced to him in these terms: "At length, general, my

mission is accomplished, and the promises of the Army of Italy, have this night been fulfilled."

But the Directory once quit of the Royalists, returned to their secret and obstinate jealousy of Napoleon. Although well acquainted with the opinion of the general on the 18th Fructidor, after all the despatches they had received, the report was spread in Paris, in order that it might reach the ears of the army, that the opinion of Bonaparte concerning that day was doubtful; and to give more weight to this suspicion, Augereau was commissioned to address the circular to all the generals of the division, which the General-in-chief alone ought to have sent. Informed of all these manœuvres, Napoleon expressed his dissatisfaction and indignation.

"It is certain," he wrote to the Directory, "that the government acts towards me, much in the same manner as it did towards Pichegru after the Vendémiaire in the year IV.

"I beg of you to appoint some one in my place, and to grant my dismissal. No power on earth shall make me continue my services after the shameful ingratitude of the government, and which was so far from what I expected. My health which is considerably affected, imperatively demands tranquillity and repose.

"My mind also requires remoulding into that of a plain citizen. For a long time, a great power has been confided to me. On all occasions I have made use of it for the good of the country; so much the worse for those who have no faith in virtue, and who may have suspected mine. My reward is in my conscience, and the opinion of posterity.

"Rely upon it, if there had been a moment of peril, I should have appeared in the foremost rank, in defence of the liberty and the constitution of the year THREE."

The Directory did not feel themselves competent to struggle with the illustrious warrior, and therefore, continued to dissimulate. They hastened to forward explanations and excuses in order to calm his resentment. Bonaparte was not so

much disgusted with his chief command as he wished it to appear; he feigned to accept the flattering explanations which were given him, and commenced corresponding privately with some of the members of the Directory, on the events of the war, the conditions of peace, and on the gravest questions of general politics. "The fate of Europe," he wrote to François de Neufchâteau "lies in union, wisdom, and power of governing; a word from the executive Directory, shakes even thrones; so that stipendiary scribblers, and ambitious fanatics, under various disguises, cannot replunge us into the torrent of revolution." About this time, a famous man, from the constitutional assembly, and whose renown has since extended itself, by an active participation in the establishment and the fall of all the governments which have incited France from reaction to reaction, even unto its present situation, made his first appearance on the political stage. It was at this epoch that Talleyrand, ever ready to pay his court to the rising sun, sought to enter into a confidential relationship with Bonaparte. He wrote several letters to him upon the 18th Fructidor, and in all, expressed himself with the vehemence of an ardent revolutionist. It is singular that one who has since so powerfully contributed to raise to the throne the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and whose last political affections has been definitively acquired, at least in appearance, by the reigning dynasty; it is strange to see him announcing with enthusiasm to his future emperor, the idol he was by turns to adore and destroy, that a speedy death had been pronounced against whosoever should attempt to restore royalty, the constitution of 1793, or of Orleans!

Napoleon received the advances of the chief of the faction which was called at that time the constitutionalists and diplomatists, as a man anxious to give the reins, and prepare his instruments for the great ambition by which he was animated. He felt that his hour was not yet come, but that it would come, and he endeavoured to conciliate certain men

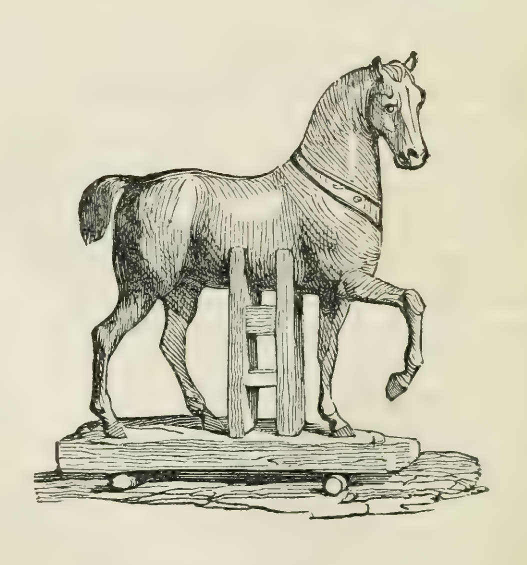
in order to make them move at his will, when circumstances should require it. When we think of the anarchy which reigned in France before and after the 18th Fructidor, of the small consideration in which the authorities were held; of the corruption of some, and the unskilfulness of others, we are justified in believing that Napoleon was too reserved and timid to presume sufficiently on the influence of his name, and the weakness of parties, by his recoiling from the step he meditated, and which he afterwards executed with so much success. But it appeared to him, that he ought to enhance his renown by new prodigies, and suffer the disgust which the majority of the nation felt for tyranny and democracy to increase. Perhaps he then first thought of the expedition to Egypt; at least many have thus imagined, after reading the proclamation which he addressed on the 16th of September, 1797, to the sailors of the squadron of Admiral Brueys, and in which, celebrating the triumphs of the Directory over the traitors and emigrants who had taken possession of the National Tribunal, he says, "Without you we could not carry the glory of the French name beyond a small corner of Europe; with you we will traverse the seas, and bear the standard of the Republic into the most remote countries."

In order to realize these vast project, it was necessary first to conclude peace in Europe. Austria, of which the 18th Fructidor had destroyed the hopes, founded upon internal revolution in France, had no longer the same reason for delaying the progress of negociation, but the Directory, proud of their victory over the Royalist allies of the Emperor, exhibited warlike dispositions. "We must no longer spare Austria," they wrote to Bonaparte, "its perfidy, its intelligence with the conspirators of the interior are manifest." These hostile orders did not accord with the views of the General-in-chief.

The approach of winter, determined him to hasten the conclusion of peace. "It will be more than a month," said he to his secretary, "before the armies of the Rhine can

second me, if they are so inclined, and in a fortnight all the roads and passes will be blocked up with snow. It is decided, I will make peace, Venice shall pay the costs of war, and guarantee the boundary of the Rhine; the Directory and the lawyers may say what they please."

The peace was in fact signed at Campo-Formio, on the 26th Vendémaire, in the year six (17th of October, 1797). The release of the prisoners of Olmutz, La Fayette, Latour, Maubourgh, and Bureau-de-Pusy, was one of the first conditions of the treaty. Napoleon adhered to it with perseverance and exacted it with rigour. It is but just to say, that he acted in this according to the instructions of the Directory.







CHAPTER VI.

Voyage to Rastadt. Return to Paris. Departure for Egypt.



LEAVING the Austrian frontiers, where neither war nor negociations required his stay, Napoleon set out to visit his conquests, and pass through Lombardy, which received him as its liberator. The popular acclamation followed him everywhere, and when an order from Paris, compelled him to go to Rastadt, to preside there over the French legation, he met with the same admiration, and the same enthusiasm throughout Switzerland, which he traversed from Geneva to Basle. Before leaving Milan, he sent to the Directory by Joubert, the flag of the Army of Italy, which displayed on one side the enumeration of all the wonders this army had achieved; on the other, these words: "*To the Army of Italy from its grateful country.*" When on his last journey to Mantua, he

caused a funeral service to be celebrated in honour of Hoche who was just dead; and hastened the completion of the monument raised to the memory of Virgil.

Among the admirers and the curious who met him on the road at this time, was an observer full of wit and penetration, and whose remarks were inserted in the Parisian Journals, in December, 1797. We read thus: "I beheld with deep interest and extreme attention, this extraordinary man, who



has performed so many great actions, and whose career is plainly not yet finished. I found him very like his portraits, small, thin, and pale, having the appearance of one fatigued, but not ili as reported. He seemed to me to listen with more of abstraction than interest; and as if he were rather occupied

with his own thoughts than with what was said to him. There is a great deal of expression in his countenance; one observes an air of habitual meditation, which reveals nothing of what is passing within. In this thoughtful head, this powerful mind, it is impossible not to suppose that there are bold conceptions, which will influence the destinies of Europe."

Crossing the plain of Morat, where the Swiss destroyed the army of Charles the Bold, in 1456, Lannes observed that the French knew how to fight better now-a-days than formerly. "At that time," sharply interrupted Bonaparte, "the Burgundians were not Frenchmen."

Arrived at Rastadt, Napoleon soon found that his new office was not suitable to him. It was at Paris in the centre of the political movements, or at the head of his army, that this wonderful man could henceforth alone find a place worthy of him. But he had no occasion to demand his recall to the capital, a letter from the Directory summoned him thither. M. de Bourrienne, his secretary, who was not yet aware that his name had been erased from the list of emigrants, feared to accompany him, and wished to remain in Germany. "Come" said Bonaparte, "pass the Rhine without apprehension; they shall not tear you from my side; I will be answerable for you."

The reception of Napoleon at Paris, was such as he might have expected from the universal favour which his high deeds had won for him. The Directory, dissembling their fears and jealousy, was compelled to give a brilliant festival to the conqueror of Italy at the Luxembourg. It was Talleyrand who presented the hero to the Directors, and who spoke on the occasion a discourse, breathing the most pure and ardent republicanism. "You may remark," said he, "and perhaps with some surprise, all my efforts at the moment to explain, almost to attenuate the glory of Bonaparte, he will not be offended at it. Shall I say it? for a moment I dreaded that shadowy disquietude which, in an infant Republic, becomes

alarmed at any thing which appears to aim a blow any where at equality; but I was deceived. Personal greatness far from striking a blow at equality, is its greatest triumph; and on this very day, every French republican ought to feel himself greater."

Napoleon replied, and giving for the first time to the French Nation the title of GREAT, expressed himself in the following terms:

"Citizen Directors,

"The French people, in order to become free, had kings to contend with.

"To obtain a constitution founded on reason, it had the prejudices of eighteen centuries to overcome.

"The constitution of the year THREE, and yourselves, have triumphed over all these obstacles.

"Religion, the feudal system, and royalty, have successively governed Europe for twenty centuries; but, from the peace you have just concluded, the era of Representative Governments will be dated.

"You have accomplished the organisation of the GREAT NATION, whose territory is circumscribed only because Nature herself has fixed its limits.

"You have done more.

"The two most beautiful regions of Europe, once so celebrated for science, for art, and for the great men of whom they were the cradle, behold with the loftiest aspirations the Genius of Freedom arise from the tombs of their ancestors.

"I have the honour to present to you the treaty signed at Campo-Formio, and ratified by his majesty the Emperor.

"When the happiness of the French people shall be secured by the best practical laws, the whole of Europe will become free."

There was some modesty on the part of the negociator of Passeriano, in thus giving the Directory the credit of having concluded the peace. But appearances required this official

homage, and those who received, were no more duped by it, than he who considered himself bound to render it. Napoleon from this time, in fact took upon himself the sole government of the Republic. He became the representative of the state, and lent to France the attitude and the language which his noble ambition and lofty mind, not the instructions of the Directory, pointed out to him as most worthy of the Great Nation, and most favourable to the ulterior views of the rising man. Since his entry into Italy, and particularly since Lodi, he had applied himself to repress the austere character of French politics, which the terrible struggle of 1793 had necessarily given it. It was not by the name of a furious and implacable demagogue, that he wished to obtain a glorious peace for his country, and immense renown for himself. It appeared to him that the time had arrived for appeasing the revolutionary fanaticism, of which he had formerly comprehended the necessity and felt the inspirations. In the negociations with the king of Sardinia, with the Pope, and with the Emperor, he shewed himself animated with that spirit of conciliation and tolerance, which distinguishes men superior to the exigences and prejudices of a party. But this was especially shewn in the conference which led to the treaty of Campo-Formio, where he convinced the European monarchs that the French Republic was a generous enemy, uninfluenced by blind hatred, and the principles and councils of which held out nothing threatening to foreign governments. He has himself declared this at Saint Helena. "The principles which were to regulate the Republic," said he, "were determined at Campo-Formio; the Directory were unacquainted with it." And such was the actual power which this man exercised, that the Directory, whose authority he had thus disregarded, and whose functions he had usurped, dared not ask for an explanation of his contempt and audacity; but gravely addressed to him, through their president, the most pompous flatteries. "Nature, sparing of her prodigies," says Barras,

"produces great men only at distant intervals; she may now well be jealous at observing the dawn of liberty, by means of one of those phenomena; and the sublime revolution of the French people, novel in the history of nations, will offer a fresh addition to the list of celebrated men." This adulation, imposed on envy, by the influence of public opinion, indicates the strength of the position Napoleon had attained; and it is remarkable, that the head of the Republican government, should have conceived himself compelled to speak to a mere general, his subordinate, in a tone as humble, as was addressed to Napoleon, later, in the same place, by the president of his senate.

The Parisians shewed themselves forgetful, the conqueror of Arcola had effaced all recollection of the *mitrailleur* of the *Vendémiaire*. Wherever Napoleon appeared, he was the object of the most lively acclamations. At the theatre, pit and boxes called loudly for him as soon as it became known that he was present. These demonstrations so flattering to his vanity, appeared, however, to annoy him; he said once, ' Had I known that the boxes were so exposed, I should not have come." Wishing to see a comic opera which was then attracting great crowds, and in which Madame Saint-Aubin and Elleviou performed, he requested its representation in this modest form: "If it were possible;" and the manager adroitly rejoined "that there was nothing impossible for the conqueror of Italy, who had long since rendered this word unnecessary in the dictionary."

In spite of the universal admiration of which he was the object, Napoleon without suffering himself to be intoxicated by the incense lavished upon him, weighed his situation coolly, fearing that too much inaction would efface the recollection of his past services, and weary the ardour of his admirers. "In Paris" said he, "everything is soon forgotten, if I remain here long in idleness, I shall be lost. In this great Babylon, one reputation supplants another; when I shall have been three



times to the theatre, nobody will take the trouble to look at me; therefore I shall go but seldom in future." He repeated the words of Cromwell, when it was remarked to him how great was the enthusiasm his presence excited; "Bah! the people would come with as much eagerness to meet me, if I were going to the scaffold."

There were at this time several plots against him; a woman warned him of a conspiracy on foot to poison him; the individual who carried the message was arrested, and led, accompanied by a magistrate, to the house of the woman who had furnished the information. She was found weltering in her blood;



the assassins, learning that she had heard and denounced their infamous projects, had rid themselves of her testimony by the commission of a fresh crime.

Prevented from entering the Directory, Napoleon wished to be admitted into the National Institute, although he had very different matters to attend to than scientific occupations or literary pastimes. He was received in the place of Carnot, and became a member of the class of Arts and Sciences. The letter he addressed to the President Camus, is too remarkable for us to omit.

"Citizen President,

"The suffrages of the distinguished men who compose the Institute honour me.

"I feel, that, before I can become their equal, I must remain for a long time their pupil.

"If there were any mode more expressive of making known to them my esteem for you, I would use it.

"True conquests, the only ones which leave no regret, are those we obtain over ignorance.

"The most honourable, as well as the most useful pursuits of nations, is to contribute to the expansion of the human mind.

"The real power of the French Republic should henceforth consist, in not permitting the existence of a single new idea, without making themselves masters of it.

"BONAPARTE."

This language was admirable in the mouth of a man who had attained the summit of glory, by labours purely military. But Napoleon was desirous of shewing that he was not blinded by fortune, and by his fondness for arms. To reach the elevation his ambitious mind aimed at, it was necessary to prove himself more than a great leader, infatuated by success, and disposed only to appreciate the art of war, the science and courage of camps. It was important to him that the Great Nation, the Queen of the World over which he wished to reign himself, should accustom itself to look upon him as the most capable, not merely to defend it by arms, but also to protect the developement of its intellectual wealth, and the display of the universal patronage which it exercised, as much by its moral superiority as by its military preponderance.

But had the moment arrived for him to make known those secret pretensions which he had nourished since the campaign of Italy? Napoleon thought it had not, and that it was therefore necessary to think of putting an end, as quickly as possible, to the inaction which was likely to compromise, if not speedily to destroy his vast renown.

The departure for Egypt was therefore resolved upon. The Directory lent themselves to this, because with their usual short-sightedness, foreseeing only the dangers of the morrow, they desired to have the illustrious warrior at a distance, without reflecting that fresh triumphs would only dazzle the nation more and more, and consequently increase the popularity which they dreaded. Bonaparte who had conceived the plan, alone prepared the execution, and took upon himself to organize the army intended for the expedition. It was he also, who formed and chose the different committees of learned men and artists which were to follow the troops, in order to make the success of the French arms conducive to the progress of civilization. When asked if he should remain long in Egypt, he replied, "A few months, or six years; all depends upon circumstances." He took with him a camp library, consisting of works on the arts and sciences, geography, voyages, history, poetry, romance, and politics. In his catalogue we perceive Plutarch, Polybius, Thucydides, Titus-Livius, Tacitus, Raynal, Voltaire, Frederick II., Homer, Tasso, Ossian, Virgil, Fenelon, La Fontaine, Rousseau, Marmontel, Le Sage, Gœthe, the Old and New Testaments, the Koran, etc.

On the eve of quitting Paris, a dispute between Bernadotte and the Austrian cabinet, on the subject of the tri-coloured flag, which the French ambassador had planted on his hotel, and which had been insulted by the populace of Vienna, was near detaining Bonaparte in Europe. The Directory wished to obtain revenge for this outrage at the price of another war, which the conqueror of Italy would have had to conduct. But the latter, whose plans would have been deranged by this, remarked, "That it was for politics to govern incidents, and not for incidents to govern politics." The Directory were obliged to yield to an observation so just, and Napoleon took the road towards Toulon.

Having arrived on the 8th of May, 1799, in this town, which was the cradle of his renown and glory, Bonaparte learnt

that the emigration laws which the 18th Fructidor had again put in full force, still spread grief and mourning throughout the place. Having no orders to give, as General, in a province which was not under his command, he wrote, as a Member of the National Institute to the military commissioners of the South, to entreat them to be guided by clemency and humanity in their decisions. "I have learnt with grief," said he to them, "that old men of from seventy to eighty years of age, and miserable females, some with infant families, others pregnant, have been shot, in accordance with the barbarous law respecting emigrants.

"Should the soldiers of liberty turn butchers? Is the compassion they have evinced on the battle-field, dead in their hearts?

"The law of the 19th Fructidor was a measure of public safety. It was intended for conspirators, and not for miserable women and old men.

"I exhort you then, citizens, when the law presents at your tribunal, men past sixty years of age, or females, to declare, that, in the midst of war, you have respected the aged and the women of your enemies.

"The soldier who signs a sentence against a person incapable of bearing arms is a coward."

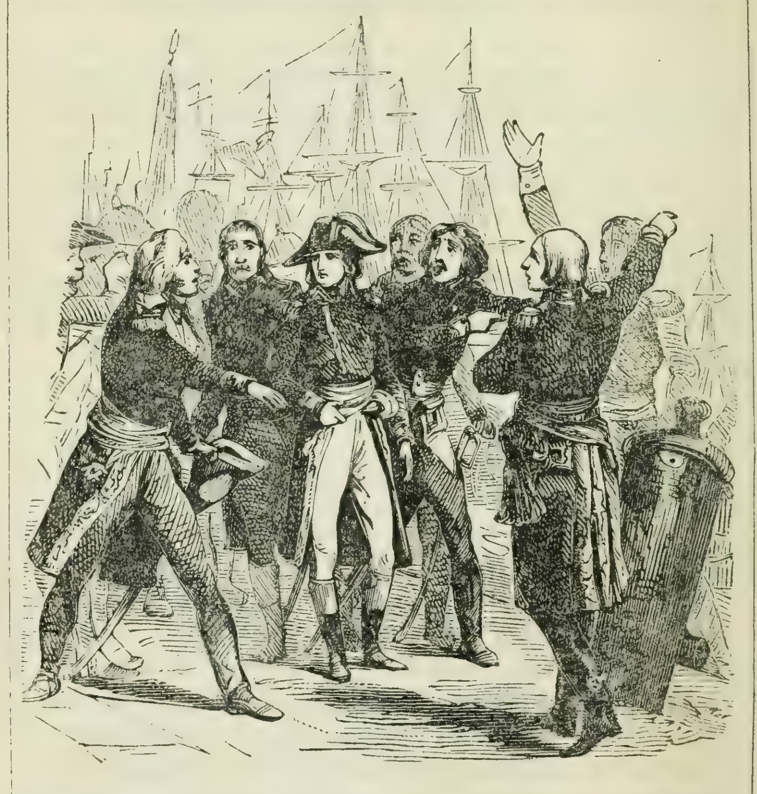
This generous step saved the life of an old emigrant, then under sentence. It is glorious thus to behold a chief accustomed to shed human blood on the field of battle, recommend soldiers to spare this needless effusion. It is pleasant to see the first of warriors recalling men to humanity, and to depend in his philanthrophic exhortations, not on his power, on his military celebrity, but on the titles which his reason, his talents, his knowledge, and pacific labours had enabled him to obtain. There is in this letter of Bonaparte, as a Member of the Institute, to the military commissioners of the South, a proof of the sway which reason maintains over the sword.

When everything was ready for embarkation, and the hour

of departure had nearly arrived, Napoleon addressed the following harangue to his army :—

"Officers and Soldiers,

"It is two years since I first took upon myself to command you; at that time you were on the coast of Genoa, in the greatest misery, wanting everything, having sacrificed all, even



your watches for your reciprocal subsistence; I promised to put an end to your miseries; I conducted you into Italy, there you had all you could desire. Did I not keep my word with you?"—"Yes!" shouted the soldiers universally.

Napoleon resumed.

"Well then, learn that you have not done enough for the

country, and that the country has not yet done sufficient for you.

"I am now going to lead you to a land, where by your future exploits, you will surpass those which now astonish your admirers, and render such services to the country as it has a right to expect from an army of invincibles.

"I promise each soldier, that on his return from this expedition, he shall have enough to purchase seven acres of land.

"You are going to encounter fresh dangers, you will share them with your brothers, the sailors. At present, the latter have not rendered themselves formidable to our enemies; their exploits have not equalled yours; they have not had the opportunities; but the courage of the sailors is equal to yours; they long for victory, and they shall attain it with you.

"Inspire them with that invincible hope, which everywhere rendered you victorious; second their efforts; live on board with that good will which characterizes men purely animated and devoted to the good of the same cause; like you they have acquired a right to the national gratitude.

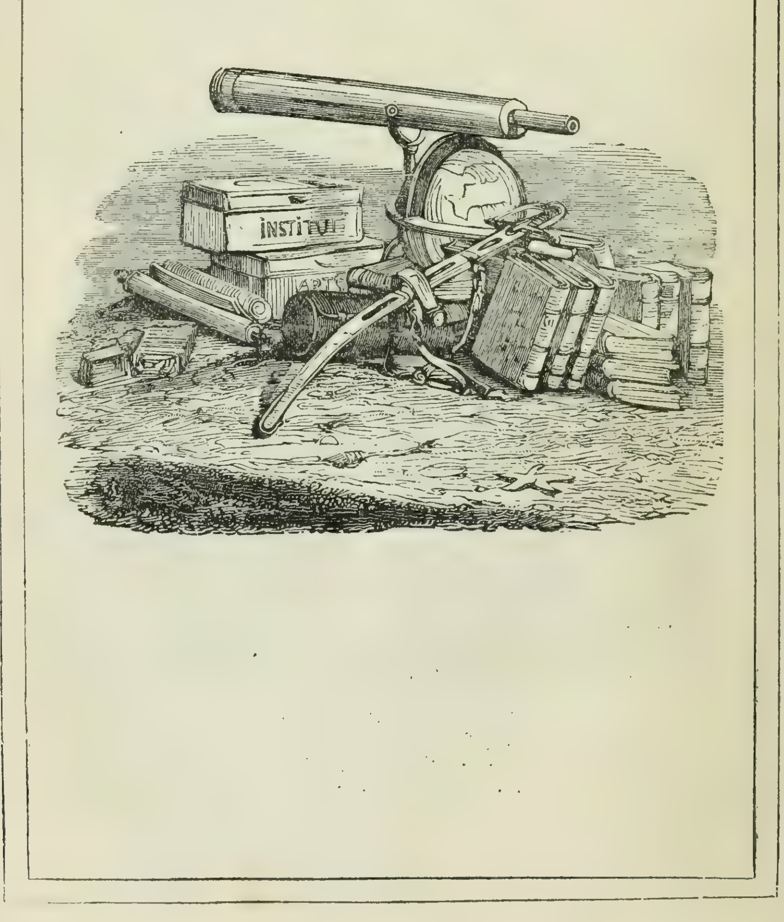


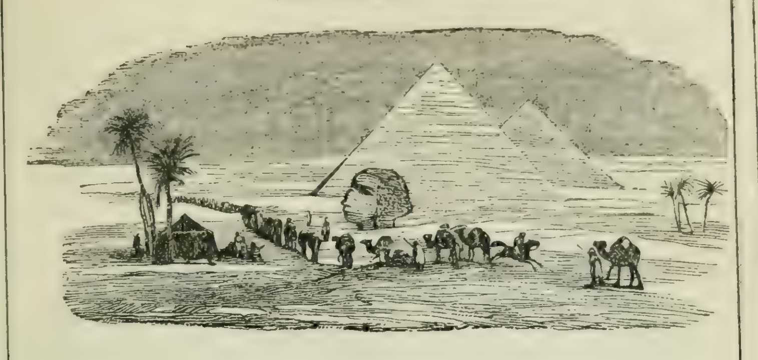
"Accustom yourselves to the manœuvres of sea-fights; become the terror of your enemies by land and by sea; imitate in that the soldiers of Rome, who knew how to beat

Carthage in the plains, and the Carthaginians on the waves."

The army replied with shouts of "Long live the Republic."

Josephine had accompanied her husband to Toulon. Bonaparte loved her passionately. Their farewell was most affecting. They might well fear that their separation would be eternal, when they reflected on the hazards which the General was about to encounter. The fleet set sail on the 19th of May.





CHAPTER VII.

The Conquest of Egypt.



EMERGING from the harbour of Toulon, the fleet directed its course towards Malta. One evening, while in the Mediterranean, the secretary of the General-in-chief fancied he perceived at the extreme verge of the horizon, then brilliantly illuminated by the setting sun, the summit of the Alps. He imparted his discovery to Bonaparte, who took no further notice than by an incredulous gesture. But admiral Brueys, looking through his glass, declared that Bourrienne was correct: "The Alps!" exclaimed Bonaparte, and after a moment of deep thought, he added: "I cannot look without emotion on Italy! Behold the East, I am going thither. A perilous enterprise calls me; these mountains overlook the plains, where I have so often had the happiness

to lead the French to victory. With them we will again conquer." During the voyage he tookmuch pleasure in conversing with the *savans* and generals who accompanied him. With Monge and Berthollet he frequently conversed upon metaphysics or politics. After dinner he was fond of proposing



difficult questions upon the gravest subjects, and to oppose certain men, whom he named, to each other, as much to learn to judge of them, as to be instructed himself; and he always gave the preference to the most skilful, to him who upheld most ingeniously the paradoxical and the absurd. These discussions were of no use to him but as a rational exercise, a sort of intellectual gymnastics. He sometimes gave the double problem of the age of the world, and its probable destruction; his imagination and mind were only at ease upon vast or sublime subjects.

After an agreeable passage of twenty days, the French fleet appeared on the 10th of June before Malta, which surrendered without resistance. After visiting the fortifications, Cafarelli observed to Bonaparte, " My faith, general, we are

very fortunate to have found some one in the town to open the gates for us." Napoleon has, however, denied at Saint Helena that he owed this conquest to any private aid. "It was in Mantua," said he, "that I took Malta; the generous treatment shewn towards Wurmser, procured me the submission of the grand master and the knights. M. de Bourrienne affirms on the contrary, that the knights were betrayed.

Be that as it may, Bonaparte stayed but a few days at Malta. The fleet sailed towards Candia, of which it came in sight on the 23rd of June; and it was in consequence of its taking this direction that Nelson was deceived, and prevented from meeting the French expedition before Alexandria, as he had calculated upon doing. It was very fortunate for the French army, for Brueys declared, that with ten ships only, the English admiral would have had every chance of success. "It was the will of God," he often said with a profound sigh, "that we should pass without meeting the English!"

Previous to touching upon the African coast, Bonaparte wished once more to address his troops, in order to re-kindle their enthusiasm by the anticipation of an approaching and vast conquest, and to warn them against the dangers of discouragement and neglect of discipline, the following is the famous proclamation issued to them on this occasion.

"BONAPARTE, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE,
GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

"*On board the* LORIENT, *23rd of June*, 1798.

"Soldiers,

"You are about to undertake a conquest, the effects of which, upon civilization and the commerce of the world are incalculable, you will strike a blow at England, the most sure and vital she can receive, until you inflict her death stroke.

"We shall have some fatiguing marches; we must fight several battles; but we shall succeed in all our undertakings. Fate is favourable to us; the Mameluke Beys who favour

exclusively the English commerce, who have loaded our merchants with injuries, and who tyrannize over the unfortunate inhabitants of the Nile, will soon after our arrival have ceased to exist.

"The people with whom we are about to live are Mahometans. Their first article of faith is this: 'There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Do not contradict them; act towards them as we did towards the Jews and the Italians; shew the same regard for their muftis, for their imauns, as you did for the priests and rabbins. Have the same tolerance for the koran and for the mosques, as you had for convents and the synagogue, for the religion of Jesus and of Moses.

"The Roman Legions protected all religions. You will find here, manners very different from those of Europe, and to which you must accustom yourselves.

"The inhabitants where we are going, treat women differently from us, but in every country, he who violates them, is a monster.

"Pillage only enriches a few, it dishonours us, it destroys our renown, and renders those our enemies, whom it is our interest to attach as friends.

"The first town we shall meet with was built by Alexander; every step will awaken sublime recollections, worthy of exciting the emulation of Frenchmen."

After this proclamation, Bonaparte published a decree, in which no individual belonging to the army was allowed to plunder, violate, raise contributions, or be guilty of any extortion whatever, under the penalty of death. He made every company responsible for the excesses of those of their members, whom from partiality they might have wished to shield from the application of this fearful penalty. The officers were also subject to a responsibility which was intended to render them more watchful and severe.

This prudent conduct was copied from the Romans, to

whom Bonaparte so justly alluded in his proclamation. But that which is most novel in this remarkable production, as in the greater part of those which the Egyptian expedition suggested as expedient to the great man who directed it, is the spectacle of a conqueror, who, on every occasion that he wished to make a solemn appeal to his soldiers or the people whose territories he invaded, disdained to follow in the steps of his predecessors, seeking terrible or pompous titles, the support of superstition, vanity, or fear; but who affected, on the contrary, to consider as his best title to the respect and confidence of nations, his honorary rank, as Member of the Academic Institute; the authority of which rested solely on the pacific influence of human reason. Alexander caused himself to be announced in this very Egypt as the son of Jupiter. Cæsar wished it to be believed that he descended from the Gods; Mahomet presented himself as a prophet, at the same time conducting himself in the exercise of his mission, as a ferocious soldier, and giving to the most formidable of his lieutenants, the surname of the Sword of God. Attila had himself called the Scourge of God; and Divinity itself, in the early Christian ages, as in the ancient times of Paganism, received for its principal attribute, on the authority of theologians and poets, the office of store-keeper in ordinary of the thunderbolts, the command of armies, and the direction of battles. Bonaparte was too well acquainted with the age, of which he was the most brilliant object, and over which he was to exercise the omnipotence of genius, to surround himself with other omens than those which his talents and great success gave rise to; and, as if he had wished to evince in a striking manner, and by his own example that the social progress, announced by philosophers and awaited by the people, consisted in the progressive submission of the sword, to the civilizing power of the arts, of commerce, and of science, he placed, although the greatest warrior of the most warlike nation of the earth, his rank of General-in-chief,

after that of the simple academician; writing at the head of all his official letters and proclamations, "BONAPARTE, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE."

The fleet arrived on the 1st of July, before Alexandria. Nelson had been there two days before, and surprised at not meeting the French expedition, imagined it had made for the coast of Syria, in order to disembark at Alexandretta. Bonaparte, informed of his appearance, and foreseeing his speedy return, resolved immediately to effect the landing of his army.



Admiral Brueys raised objections to this, and opposed it strongly; but Bonaparte insisted upon it. "Admiral," said he to Brueys, who asked for a delay of twelve hours only, "we

have no time to lose; Fortune gives me but three days; if we do not profit by it, we are lost."

The admiral was forced to yield, happily for his fleet; for Nelson, not having found them in the straits where he sought them, delayed not an instant in returning to Alexandria. But it was too late; the promptitude of Bonaparte had saved the French army, the whole of which had been landed. The disembarkation took place at one o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of July, at Marabout, three leagues from Alexandria. They marched immediately upon this town, and scaled the ramparts. Kleber, who commanded the attack, was wounded in the head. This conquest was achieved with little effort, and was not followed with any excess; there was neither pillage nor murder in Alexandria.

The instant he set foot on shore, Bonaparte wrote the following letter to the Pacha of Egypt:

"The executive Directory of the French Republic, has several times written to the Sublime Porte to demand the chastisement of the Egyptian Beys, who have loaded the French merchants with insult.

"But the Sublime Porte has declared that the Beys, capricious and avaricious men, did not listen to the principles of justice, and that it not only did not authorize the insults, practised towards its good and ancient friends, the French; but that it had even withdrawn its protection from the offending Beys.

"The French Republic has decided upon sending a powerful army to put an end to the robberies committed by the Beys of Egypt, as it was compelled to do several times against the Beys of Tunis and Algiers.

"You, who ought to be the master of the Beys, but who are, nevertheless, detained by them at Cairo without authority or power, will be glad to hear of my arrival.

"You are doubtless already informed, that I come not to interfere with the Koran, or the Sultan; you must be aware

that the French nation is the only ally which the Sultan can boast of in Europe.

"Hasten then to meet me, and assist in destroying the impious race of the Beys."

On entering Alexandria, he published a proclamation to the inhabitants in the following terms:

"BONAPARTE, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

"For a long period, the Beys which govern Egypt, have insulted the French nation, and oppressed her merchants; the hour of punishment has arrived.

"For a long time, the assemblage of slaves, purchased in the Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the finest regions of the world; but God, who ordains everything; has determined to put an end to their sway.

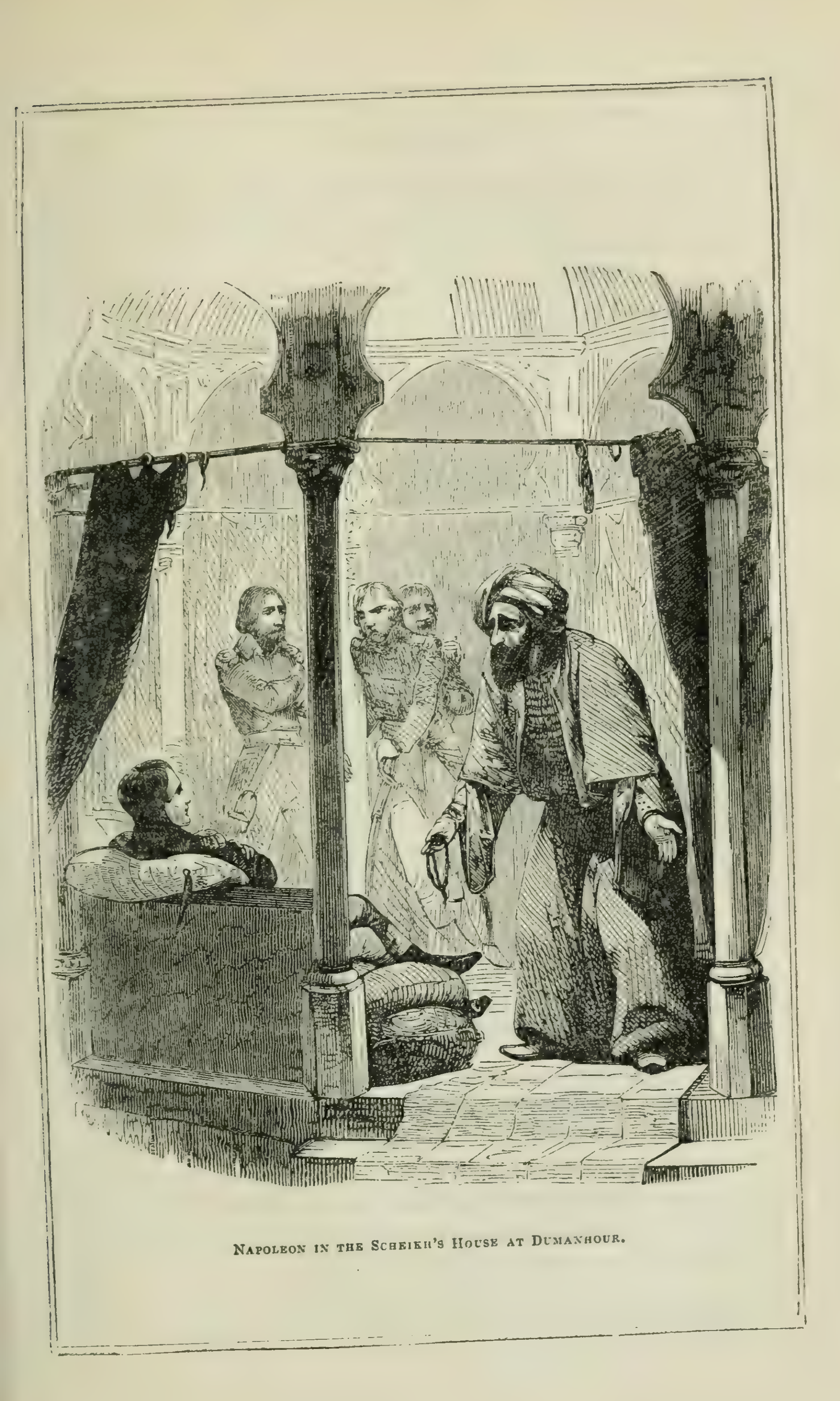
"People of Egypt, you are told that I come to destroy your religion; credit it not. Reply, that I come to restore to you your rights, to punish the usurpers, and that I reverence God, his Prophet, and the Koran, more than do the Mamelukes. Tell them that all men are equal in the sight of God; wisdom, talents, and virtue, make the sole distinctions between them. Besides, what wisdom, what talents, or what virtues distinguish the Mamelukes, that they should possess exclusively all that renders life desirable and pleasant?

"If Egypt is their farm, let them shew the lease that God has granted them of it. But God is just and merciful to his people.

"Egyptians alone should be the parties appointed to fill the situations of trust; the wisest, the best informed, the most virtuous shall govern, and the people will be happy.

"You were formerly possessed of large towns, canals, and a prosperous commerce; who has destroyed all, if not the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes?

"Cadis, scheiks, imauns, ulemas, tell the people that we are the friends of true Mussulmans. Is it not we who have



Napoleon in the Scheikh's House at Dumanhour.

destroyed the Pope, who had threatened to make war against them? Is it not we who have destroyed the Knights of Malta, because those madmen believed it to be the will of God, that they should make war against the Mussulmans? Is it not we who have been in all ages the friends of the Grand Seignor (may God accomplish his wishes!), and the enemy of his enemies? The Mamelukes, on the contrary, have they not revolted against his authority, which they still refuse to recognize, following but their own caprice?

"Thrice happy are those who join with us! they will prosper in fortune and in rank. Happy are those who remain neuter! they will have time to learn to know, and will then join us. But woe, threefold woe, to those who shall take up arms for the Mamelukes, and fight against us! there will be no hope for them, they shall perish."

Bonaparte leaving Kleber in command of Alexandria, quitted that place on the 7th of July, taking the road to Dumanhour, across the desert, where hunger, thirst, and an overpowering heat caused the army to endure unheard of sufferings, under which many of the soldiers perished. They found some relief at Dumanhour, where Bonaparte established his head-quarters in the house of a scheikh, an old man who affected poverty in order to screen himself from the extortion which the appearance of wealth would have drawn upon him. He continued his march towards Cairo, and in four days he had beaten the Mamelukes at Rahmaniah and destroyed the flotilla and cavalry of the Beys at Chebreisse. In this last action, the General-in-chief marshalled his army into square battalions, against the enemy's cavalry, which was quite disconcerted, despite the boldness of its attacks and the impetuosity of its courage. At the commencement of this affair, Perée attacked by a superior force, changed a perilous position into the most brilliant success. The *savans*, Monge and Berthollet, rendered essential service, by fighting the enemy in person.

At the moment of giving battle to Murad Bey at the foot of the Pyramids, Bonaparte, pointing to these ancient and gigantic



monuments, exclaimed: "Soldiers, you are about to fight the rulers of Egypt; reflect that from these monuments you are contemplated by forty centuries."

Forty centuries, in fact, did look down on the French from the Pyramids. Forty centuries, of which the first had seen the foundation of these immense royal tombs, laid by the servile hands of the inferior Egyptians, and of which the last,

saw these monuments of ancient servitude, conquered at the hands of the free citizens of France. Napoleon's short harangue indicated the great distinction between the founders and the conquerors; the former, tyrants, or slaves, by birth; the latter, all free and on an equality, leaders or soldiers, according to their merits. From the Pharoahs, absolute masters and oppressors of the tribes hereditarily subjected to the most severe labour, and the most abject existence, down to the general, who had just declared to the Egyptians, "That all men were equal before God," and who announced to them the exclusive reign of talents and virtues, there is an uninterrupted chain of slow and painful, wearisome progress, the first link of which is connected with the foundation stone of the Pyramids, laid by hereditary misery, and the last with the proclamation of the warrior, who acknowledged the right of wisdom and capacity, alone to govern mankind; and who shewed himself more jealous and more proud of the preponderance of his reason, than of the power of his sword. In telling the soldiers of the Republic that they would be regarded by forty centuries, and then that they were about to face, and give battle to the tribes who still exercised the ancient practice of slavery, Bonaparte powerfully excited the ardour of his troops to preserve and extend the benefits of a civilization, which had cost humanity four thousand years of struggle and sacrifice. These imposing and mysterious witnesses were not appealed to in vain; the French army replied by a complete victory to the eloquent invocation of its general.

This battle received the name of Embabeh, from the village near which it was fought. The Mamelukes were overcome after an obstinate contest, which lasted nineteen hours. The following is the description of this terrible struggle, as written by the conqueror himself.

"Battle of the Pyramids."

"On the 3rd, at day-break, we met with the vanguard, which we repulsed from village to village.



"At two o clock in the afternoon, we found ourselves in sight of the intrenchments of the enemy's army.

"I ordered the divisions of Generals Desaix and Reynier to take up a position on the right, between Djyzeh and Embabeh, so as to cut off the enemy's communication with Upper Egypt, which was his natural retreat. The army was ranged in the same manner as at the battle of Chebreisse.

"The moment Murad-Bey perceived the movement of General Desaix, he resolved to charge him, and sent one of his bravest Beys with a choice body of troops, which charged the two divisions with the rapidity of lightning. They were

suffered to approach, till within fifty paces, and were received with a shower of balls and grape-shot which caused a fearful carnage amongst them. They then threw themselves into the space between the two divisions, where they were received by a double fire, which completed their defeat.

"I took advantage of the moment, and ordered the divisions of General Bon, which skirted the Nile, to prepare for attacking the intrenchments; and General Vial, who commanded the division of General Menou, to place himself between the body about to attack him, and the intrenchments; thus accomplishing the triple end of preventing the opposing troops returning to their defences; of cutting off all retreat to those who occupied them; and, finally, if it were necessary, to attack these intrenchments on the left.

"The moment Generals Vial and Bon had taken up their positions, they ordered the first and third divisions of each battalion to keep themselves in readiness for the attack, whilst the second and fourth, keeping the same position, always forming the square battalion, advanced to sustain the attacking columns.

"The columns of attack of General Bon, commanded by the brave General Rampon, threw themselves upon the intrenchments with their usual impetuosity; in spite of a heavy fire of artillery; when the Mamelukes made a charge; sallying from their intrenchments at full gallop. Our columns had time to halt, face about, and to receive them on their bayonets, accompanied by a shower of balls. The field of battle was instantly strewn with the dead; and our troops soon carried the intrenchments. The Mamelukes immediately threw themselves on their left; but a battalion of carabineers, whose fire they were unable to evade, made a frightful slaughter of them. An immense number plunged into the Nile and were drowned.

"Upwards of four hundred camels laden with baggage, and fifty pieces of artillery, have fallen into our hands; I reckon the

loss of the Mamelukes at two thousand of the flower of their cavalry; a great number of the Beys have been wounded or killed, Murad-Bey has also been wounded in the cheek. Our loss amounts to about twenty or thirty men killed, and a hundred and twenty wounded. On the same night the town of Cairo was evacuated. All their armed shallops, corvettes, brigs, and even a frigate have been burnt; and on the 4th our troops entered Cairo. During the night the populace burnt the houses of the Beys, and committed several excesses. Cairo which contains more than three hundred thousand inhabitants, has the vilest populace in the world.

"After the great number of battles in which the troops I command have been engaged to superior strength, I cannot but praise their discipline and coolness on this occasion; for this novel species of warfare has made them display a patience contrasting oddly with French impetuosity. If they had given way to their ardour, they would not have gained the victory, which was only to be obtained by great calmness and patience.

"The cavalry of the Mamelukes evinced great bravery. They defended their fortunes; for there was not one of them upon whom our soldiers did not find, three, four or five hundred gold pieces.

"All the pride of these people is in their horses and arms; their houses are deplorable. One could scarcely discover a country more fertile, and a people more ignorant and stupid. They prefer one of our soldier's buttons to a six-franc piece; in the villages they are even unacquainted with the use of a pair of scissors. Their houses are constructed of mud, and their only furniture consists of a straw mat and two or three earthen pots. They eat in general very little; they know not the use of mills, so that, we have actually bivouacked on immense fields of corn, without being able to obtain flour. We live principally upon vegetables and meat. The little corn they convert into flour, is beaten with stones; and in

some of the large villages, there are mills turned by oxen.

"We have been continually harassed by swarms of Arabs, who are the greatest thieves and scoundrels on earth; they assassinate the Turks as well as the French, in fact all who fall into their hands. Brigadier-general Muireur and several other aides-de-camp, and staff-officers, have been murdered by these wretches, who lie in ambush behind banks, and in ditches, mounted on their excellent little horses; woe to him who strays a hundred paces from the columns. General Muireur, notwithstanding the representations of the soldiers, by a fatality which I have often remarked accompanies those whose hours are numbered, wished to climb a hillock alone, about two hundred paces from the camp; behind it were three Bedouins, who assassinated him. The Republic has experienced a severe loss, he was one of the bravest generals I knew.

"The Republic could not possess a more desirable colony, and with a more fertile soil, than Egypt. The climate is very wholesome, the nights being cool; notwithstanding a fifteen days' march, hardships of all kinds, the want of wine, and of everything that could lighten fatigue, we have had no sickness. The soldiers have found great relief from a species of water-melon which grows here in abundance.

"The artillery have especially distinguished themselves; I wish you to grant the rank of general, to Brigadier-general Dommartin; I have promoted Colonel Destaing to the rank of brigadier-general, commanding the fourth demi-brigade; General Zayonschek has conducted himself extremely well in several important missions which I have confided to him; Commissary Sucy embarked on board our Nile flotilla in order to send our provisions to Delta with more facility. Seeing that I hastened my march, and wishing to be near me in the event of a battle, he threw himself into an armed shallop, and in spite of the perils he would have to encounter, separated himself from the flotilla. The boat run aground, and he was assailed by a great number of the enemy; he displayed the greatest

courage, although wounded dangerously in the arm; by his example he succeeded in re-animating the crew, and releasing the shallop from its awkward position.

"We have not received any news from France since our departure.

"I request you to pay a gratuity of 1,200 francs to the wife of citizen Larry, head-surgeon to the army. In the midst of the desert, he rendered us the greatest services by his activity and zeal. I know of no medical man more fitted to accompany an army in its arduous undertakings."

The next day, the 22nd of July, Bonaparte approached Cairo; and published the following proclamation:

"People of Cairo, I am satisfied with your conduct, you have done well in not taking part against me; I am come to destroy the race of the Mamelukes, and to protect commerce, and the rightful inhabitants of the country. Let all those who are in fear, be tranquillized; let those who have absented themselves, return to their houses; let prayers be said to day as usual, and as I wish it always to be. Fear nothing for your families, your houses, your property, and especially for the religion of the Prophet, which I admire. As it will be necessary to establish a police in order to preserve the public tranquillity, a divan composed of seven persons shall be formed, to meet at the mosque of Ver; two shall be always with the governor of the place, and four shall be occupied in maintaining public tranquillity and watching over the police.

"Bonaparte entered the capital of Egypt on the 24th of July. On the 25th he wrote to his brother Joseph, who was a member of the Council of Five Hundred

"You will see in the public journals," said he, "the account of the battles and of the conquest of Egypt, which have been sufficiently arduous to add another leaf to the military glory of this army. Egypt, in which barbarism is at its height, is the richest country in the world in corn, rice, vegetables, and cattle, but there is no money, not even sufficient to pay the

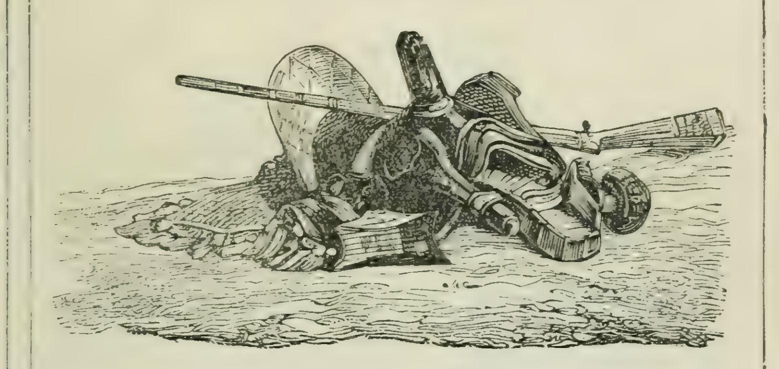


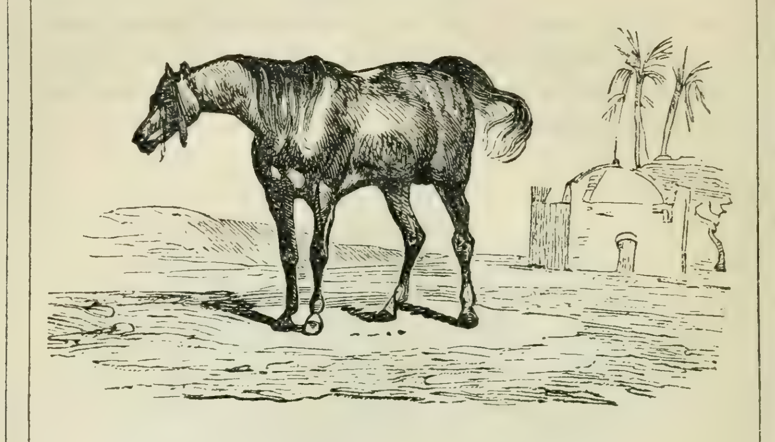
troops. I may return to France in two months.

"Manage to procure me a country-house against my arrival, either near Paris or in Burgundy ; I hope to pass the winter there."

This letter proves that Napoleon believed his conquests sufficiently assured, to enable him to confide the preservation of them to the prudence and skill of his lieutenants. But, wherefore this unexpected return into France ? was it in order to seek fresh military resources and the elements of colonization, as some have thought? or had he no other view, than to approach the theatre where his destiny called him to play

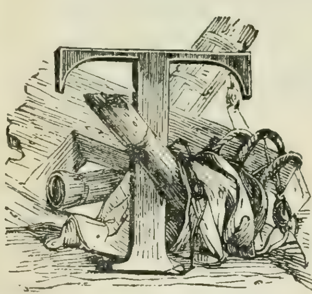
the leading character, and did he consider the events at hand, which he had so long wished for and foreseen, and which were to effect his elevation? It appears to us, that the last supposition is more likely.





CHAPTER VIII.

Disasters at Aboukir. Establishments and Institutions of Bonaparte in Egypt. Campaign of Syria. Return into Egypt. Battle of Aboukir. Departure for France.



ERRIFIED by his late defeat, Murad-Bey fled into Upper Egypt, where he was pursued by Desaix. Napoleon, in the mean time, occupied himself at Cairo, in forming a regular administration for the Egyptian provinces. But Ibrahim Bey, who had arrived in Syria, obliged the conquering legislator to quit his pacific labours and return to the fight. Bonaparte encountered and beat him at Saleheyh. The brave Sulkowsky was wounded in this affair.

The joy of the new triumph was soon disturbed by the most deplorable news. Kleber announced to Bonaparte by a despatch, that Nelson had destroyed the French fleet at

Aboukir, after a desperate struggle. As soon as the knowledge of this catastrophe was spread in the army, great discontent and consternation prevailed. The soldiers and generals who had been disgusted and uneasy on their first arrival in Egypt, felt more severely than ever their situation, and frequently gave vent to their feelings in loud murmurs. Napoleon, seeing at a glance, all the enormity of this disaster, appeared at first overwhelmed by it, and when told that the Directory would doubtless hasten to repair the misfortune, he hastily exclaimed : "Your Directory ! they are a mass of —, they envy and hate me ; and will leave me here to perish. Do you not see all those figures ?" he added, pointing to his staff-officers, "how long will they remain by me ?"



But his great soul was not to be cast down, and arousing himself, he exclaimed with an heroic resignation, "If it must be so, then, we *will* remain here, or, like the ancients, we will leave it as heroes."

From this time Bonaparte occupied himself, with indefatigable ardour and activity in the civil organization of Eygpt. He felt more than ever, the necessity of conciliating the inhabitants of the country, and of forming lasting establishments. One of his first and principal creations, was an Institute on the plan of that of Paris. He divided it into four classes·—mathematics, physic, political economy, literature and the fine arts. Monge was appointed president, and Bonaparte conferred on himself the title of vice-president. The installation



of this body took place with great solemnity. It was there that the immortal warrior confirmed his promise to the head of the Institute of France, not to be proud of any conquests but those he obtained over ignorance; and until the progress

of his arms was identified with the progress of enlightenment.

Bonaparte, already popular among the Mussulmans, who called him the sultan Kebir (the father of fire), was admitted and invited by them to all their festivals.

It was thus that he assisted, but without presiding, as was believed, at those of the overflowing of the Nile, and the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet. The respect which he shewed for the religion of the Prophet on all occasions, contributed not a little in making his name and authority respected by the Egyptians. Some have affected to discover a sort of sympathy for Islamism in his conduct, which displayed nothing more than the skilful politician.* Bonaparte was neither Mussulman nor Christian; himself and his army represented in Egypt, the French philosophy, the tolerating scepticism, and the religious indifference of the eighteenth century. But in the absence of positive religion in his mind, he nourished a vague religion in his soul.

The anniversary of the foundation of the Republic was celebrated at Cairo, on the 1st Vendemiaire, year VII (September 22nd, 1798). Bonaparte presided at this patriotic solemnity, "Soldiers," said he to his companions in arms, "it is five years since the independence of the people was menaced; you retook Toulon, which was the presage of the ruin of your enemies. One year after, you beat the Austrians at Dego; the following year you were on the summit of the Alps. Two years ago, you struggled against Mantua, and we gained the celebrated battle of St. George. Last year you were at the sources of the Drave and the Ysonzo, on our return from Germany. Who would have then said that you would now be on the banks of the Nile, in the centre of the ancient continent? You attract the attention of the whole world, from the

* M. de Bourrienne, who was an eye-witness, contradicts all that Walter Scott and other writers have advanced, respecting the solemn participation of Bonaparte in the Mussulman ceremonies. He affirms that he only appeared as a simple spectator, and always in the French costume.

English, so renowned for arts and commerce, to the hideous and ferocious Bedouins. Soldiers! your destiny is noble, because you are worthy of that which you have done, and of the opinion which is entertained of you; you will die with honour, like the heroes whose names are inscribed upon this Pyramid, * or you will return to your country, covered with laurels, and with the admiration of all nations.



"During the five months that we have been absent from Europe, we have been the constant objects of our countrymen's

* He caused to be engraved on Pompey's column the names of the first forty soldiers who died in Egypt.

solicitude. On this day, forty millions of citizens are celebrating the era of the Representative Government; forty millions of citizens now think of you; and all say, 'It is to their labours, to their blood that we are indebted for this



universal peace, for repose, for the prosperity of commerce, and the benefits of civil liberty.'" On their side, the sheickhs in

gratitude for the part which Bonaparte had taken at their festivals, * joined at least in appearance in the rejoicings of the French army; they made the Grand Mosque resound with songs of gladness; they prayed to the great Allah, "to bless the favourite of Victory † and to let the brave army of the West prosper."

In the midst of these amicable demonstrations, the chiefs of the Mamelukes, in alliance with England, Ibrahim and Murad-Bey, fomented an insurrection, which was not slow in breaking out even in the capital of Egypt. Bonaparte was then at Old Cairo; as soon as he was informed of what was passing, he hastened to return to his head-quarters. The streets of Cairo, were quickly cleared by the French troops, who compelled the rebels to take refuge in the grand mosque, where they were soon fired upon by the artillery. They had refused to capitulate, but the thunder of the cannon taking effect on their superstitious imaginations, rendered them more tractable. Napoleon, however, refused their tardy propositions. "The time for mercy is gone by," said he, "you have begun, it is for me to finish." The doors of the mosque were immediately forced, and the blood of the Turks flowed in abundance. Bonaparte had to avenge, among others, the

* It was at the sheickh's house, El-Bekri, that Napoleon participated in the celebration of the anniversary of Mahomet. He saw there two young Mamelukes, Ibrahim and Roustan, whom he asked of the sheickh, who presented them to him. He wore neither turban nor any other distinction of Mahometanism. True he had a Turkish costume made, but for a mere whim to amuse himself with his friends. As they frankly told him, that it did not become his physiognomy, he did not put it on a second time.

† Napoleon has left in Egypt, at well as in Europe, imperishable signs of his passage; his name is venerated among the barbarians, as well as amongst the civilized nations whom he subdued by his arms. The celebrated Oriental, Champollion the younger, who was carried off by a premature death from his scientific pursuits and from his friends, relates that having been received by a Bey of Thebes, on his way to the Egyptian ruins, and dining with him, he considered himself obliged to toast the viceroy, persuaded that his host would return this purely official politeness by drinking to the king of France, then Charles the X; but the Bey laying aside all diplomatic feeling, and abandoning himself to a sentiment of admiration, of which our illustrious friend certainly partook, he exclaimed with the most lively enthusiasm. "I will propose to you a toast which you will not refuse; '*The Great Bonaparte.*'"

death of General Dupuis, governor of the place, and that of the brave Sulkowsky, for whom he had entertained great regard.

British influence which had instigated the sedition of Cairo, and the insurrection throughout Egypt, succeeded also in rousing the divan of Constantinople to acts of hostility against France. A manifesto of the Grand Seignior, filled with imprecations and invectives, devoted the flag of the Republic to ignominy, and its soldiers to extermination. Bonaparte replied to these outrages and provocations by a proclamation, which terminated thus:—"The most religous of the Prophets has said, 'Sedition has fallen asleep, cursed be he that shall awaken it!'"

He went shortly after to Suez to visit the traces of the



ancient canal which connected the waters of the Nile with the Red Sea. Monge and Berthollet accompanied him; wishing

to visit the sources of the Moise, he nearly became a victim to his curiosity by losing his way in the dark, just as the tide was coming in; "I ran the danger of perishing like Pharaoh," said he, "which would not have failed to have furnished all the preachers of Christianity with a magnificent text against me!"

The monks of Mount Sinai, knowing that he was in their neighbourhood, sent him a deputation requesting he would



write his name upon their register, as was done by Ali, Saladin, Ibrahim, etc. Napoleon did not refuse them a favour which flattered his vanity, and his passion for celebrity.

However, Djezzar Pacha had taken possession of the fort of El-Arisch, in Syria. Napoleon who had meditated for some time a campaign in that province, resolved immediately to execute his design. The news of the success of Djezzar

had reached him at Suez; and he hastened his return to Cairo, to take troops necessary for the expedition, and after having assured the tranquillity and submission of that capital, by the nocturnal sacrifice of the chiefs of the people, who had figured in the late revolt, he quitted Egypt, and proceeded to Asia. The desert was now before him, he crossed it mounted upon a dromedary, which he found resisted the heat and



fatigue far better than his horses. The vanguard having strayed, he did not meet with them until they were giving themselves up to despair, and sinking with fatigue or dying with thirst. Bonaparte announced water and food to the unfortunate soldiers. " But if all that has been delayed, had been delayed longer," said he to them, " would that have been a reason for murmuring, or failing in courage? No soldiers, learn to die with honour."

However, the privations and physical suffering became such, that insubordination was sometimes visible. On several occasions, the French soldier, on the burning sands of Arabia could with difficulty be induced to yield his chief a few drops of muddy water, or the shade of some fragments of an old wall. One day when the General-in-chief felt nearly suffocated by the heat of the sun, he obtained as a favour, permission to lay his head in the shade formed by the remains of a gate. "And in this," said Napoleon, "they made me a great concession." Removing some stones with his



foot, he discovered a cameo of Augustus, which the *savans* have valued very highly, and which Napoleon gave at first to Andreossy, but afterwards took from him again, to gratify Josephine with it. It was among the ruins of Piluze that this discovery took place.

In proceeding to seek the Turkish army in Syria, Bonaparte thought of pushing further his indirect attacks against the

British power. The project of an expedition to India, through Persia, was formed in his mind, and he had written the following letter to Tippoo-Saib. "You have already been informed of my arrival upon the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, burning with the desire of freeing you from the iron yoke of England.

"I hasten to let you know, that I wish you to send me by the way of Muscat or Mocha, news of your political position; I also wish you could send to Suez some skilful man who possesses your confidence, with whom I could confer." This letter remained unanswered. It was written on the 25th of January, 1799, and the empire of Tippoo-Saib fell soon afterwards.

Bonaparte arrived before El-Arish in the middle of February. This fort capitulated on the 16th after a complete rout of the Mamelukes; and six days after, Gaza opened her gates. When



near Jerusalem, Bonaparte on being asked if he did not wish to pass by that town, replied quickly: "Oh! no! Jerusalem

is not in my line of operations; I do not wish to have anything to do with the mountaineers in difficult passes; and on the other hand I should be assailed by a numerous cavalry. I am not ambitious of the fate of Cassius." On the 6th of March, Jaffa was carried by assault and abandoned to pillage and massacre. Bonaparte sent his aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Croisier, to appease the fury of the soldiers. They arrived in time to save the lives of four thousand Arnauts or Albanians, who formed part of the garrison, and who had escaped the carnage



by taking refuge in the vast caravansaries. When the General-in-chief saw the number of prisoners, he exclaimed: "What am I to do with them? have I provisions to feed them, or ships to send them to France or Egypt? what the devil is to become of them?" The aides-de-camp excused themselves on account of the danger they would have incurred by refusing to capitulate, and likewise reminding Bonaparte of the humane

mission which he had confided to them. "Yes undoubtedly," he replied, "for women, children, and old men, but not for armed soldiers; you should have killed these unfortunates, and not brought them to me. What would you have me do with them?" He deliberated for three days on the lot of these ill-fated people, in hope that the sea might bring him some vessels to get rid of his prisoners, without compelling him to shed more blood. But the murmurs of the army did not permit him to delay any longer a measure, which inspired him with the greatest repugnance. The order for shooting the Arnauts and Albanians was given on the 10th of March.

The taking of Jaffa was announced at Cairo by the following proclamation: "In the name of God, the holy and merciful Father of the world, who does what he pleases with all that is His, who disposes of victory, this is the recital of the favours that the most High has granted to the French Republic. We have taken possession of Jaffa in Syria.

"Djezzar had intended returning to Egypt, the house of the poor, with the Arabian brigands. But the decrees of God have destroyed man's cunning. He desired to shed blood according to his barbarous usage, in order to increase his pride, and in accordance with the bad principles he had received from the Mamelukes, and from his own shallow mind.

"On the 26th Ramazan, the French army surrounded Jaffa. On the 27th, the General-in-chief had trenches dug, as he saw that the town was furnished with cannon, and contained a great many persons. On the 29th, the trench was about one hundred feet long. He had guns mounted, and batteries raised on the side towards the sea, to stop those who might have attempted to escape.

"On the Thursday, the last day of Ramazan, the General-in-chief felt compassion for the inhabitants of Jaffa; he sent a message to the governor, but contrary to all the laws of war, and of Mahomet, they only replied by arresting the herald.

"Immediately the anger of Bonaparte burst forth; he

gave orders to maintain a constant fire from the artillery and bombs. In a few minutes the cannons of Jaffa were dismounted. By noon a breach had been effected; the assault commenced, and in less than an hour the French had taken the town and fort. The pillage continued all night. On the Friday, the General took pity on the Egyptians who were at Jaffa; he granted pardon to all, both rich and poor, and suffered them to return to their native country. He acted in the same manner with regard to those at Damascus and Aleppo.

"In the contest more than four thousand men were killed, the French lost but few, and had only a small number wounded.

"O worshippers of God, submit yourselves to His will, observe His commandments. Know that the world is His, and that He gives it to whom He pleases."

The French army had brought into Syria the germ of the plague; it developed itself at the siege of Jaffa, and became every day more ravaging. Bonaparte said of the Adjutant-general Grésieux, who would not touch any one, in order to guard himself from the contagion. "If he is afraid of the plague he will die of it." His prediction was accomplished at the siege of Acre.

It was on the 16th of March that Bonaparte arrived before that place, where he met with a more vigorous resistance than he had expected. Here General Cafarelli received a mortal wound; before he died he had read to him Voltaire's preface to the "Spirit of the Laws," which appeared not a little strange to the General-in-chief, who was deeply affected at his loss.

News from Upper Egypt arrived about this time at head-quarters. Amongst other things, Desaix announced that the armed barge, *L'Italie,* had been taken upon the western bank of the Nile, after a bloody contest. Napoleon, whose genius was sometimes accessible to superstitious inspiration, exclaimed, on hearing of this fatal event. "Italy is lost to France, it is



done, my presentiments never deceive me."

During the siege of Acre, the celebrated battle of Mount Tabor was gained, where Kleber, attacked and surrounded by twelve thousand horsemen, and as many foot, made the most heroic resistance with three thousand foot soldiers. Bonaparte, informed of the strength of the enemy, set off with a division to support Kleber. Arrived at the field of battle, he disposed his division into two squares, so as to form an equilateral triangle with the square of Kleber, thus placing the enemy between them. The terrible fire which then proceeded from the extremities of this triangle, made the Mamelukes fall back upon themselves, and dispersed them



in all directions, leaving the plain covered with dead bodies. This army, which the inhabitants said was as numerous as the stars of the firmament, and the sands of the sea-shore, was destroyed by six thousand French.

After a siege of two months, Napoleon seeing his little army enfeebled every day by the ravages of the plague, and by the frequent encounters which they were obliged to sustain against an intrepid garrison, commanded by a resolute chief, decided upon returning to Egypt. All his vast projects with respect to the East, which had carried his ambitious imagination, sometimes to the Indus, sometimes to the Bosphorus, abandoned him in this moment; it was this which caused him afterwards to say, that, " If Acre had fallen, it would have changed the face of the globe, that the fate of the East depended on this little paltry town."

The proclamation which he published at his head-quarters at Acre, in order to announce and justify his return to Egypt, read as follows :

"Soldiers,

"You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia with more rapidity than an army of Arabs.

"The Arabian army which was marching to invade Egypt is destroyed, you have taken its General, its field equipage, its baggage and its camels.

"You have possession of all the fortresses which defend the wells of the desert.

"You have dispersed at the foot of Mount Tabor, that cloud of men assembled from all parts of Asia in the hope of plundering Egypt.

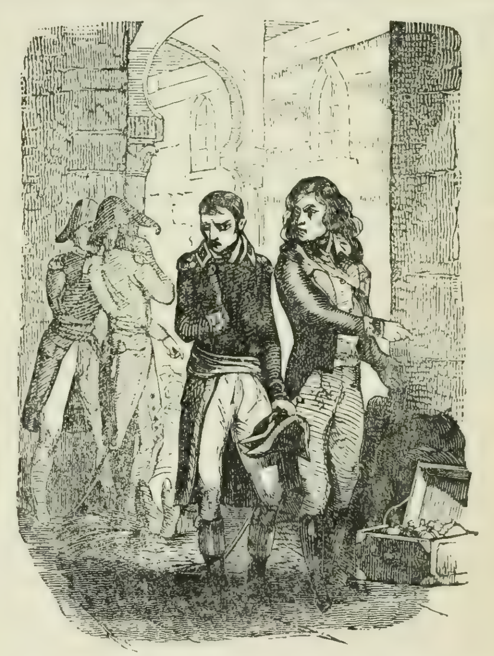
"The thirty vessels which you saw arrive at Acre, twelve days since, brought the army which was to have besieged Alexandria; but obliged to hasten to Acre, it has remained there, some of its flags will decorate your entry into Egypt.

"At length after having, with a handful of men, sustained the war for three months in the heart of Syria, taken forty field-pieces, fifty stand of colours, made six thousand prisoners, razed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa and Acre, we are about to return into Egypt.

"It is but a few days since you hoped to take the pacha in his own palace ; but at this season, the taking of the fortress of Acre is of less importance than the loss of a few days ; and the brave men I should lose are now required for more essential operations."

The signal for retreat was given on the 20th of May. Bonaparte wished every one to go on foot, and to leave the horses for the use of the wounded, and for those sick of the plague. When his groom came to ask him which horse he would reserve for himself, he angrily replied : "Every one is to go on foot!—I will be the first; are you unacquainted with the order? Begone!"

At Jaffa, where they arrived on the 24th, the hospitals were filled with sick; and fever raged with the greatest fury. The General-in-chief visited these unfortunate men; he deeply compassionated their sufferings, and appeared greatly affected by so melancholy a spectacle. The order was given for them to be moved; but of these so many were sick of the plague, according to M. de Bourrienne, upwards of sixty, and among them seven or eight, so severely afflicted, says the Memorial of Saint Helena, that they could not live above four-and-twenty hours. What was to be done with these expiring



soldiers? Bonaparte hesitated; but was told that many of them requested instant death; that their contact might be fatal to the army, and that it would be at the same time an act of prudence and charity to hasten their death by a few hours. It is almost certain that a soporific potion was administered to them.

On approaching Cairo, Bonaparte took care to order that a triumphant reception should be prepared for him in this capital, in order to destroy any disheartening impression the issue of the expedition into Syria might create in the minds of the inhabitants and the soldiers. It was necessary to prevent the discouragement of the one, and to check the seditious disposition of the other. It was political and necessary; and we may even say a duty, to dissimulate his losses, and exaggerate his advantages.

The divan of Cairo responded to the views of Bonaparte; he ordered festivals and published a proclamation in which occur the following passages:

"General Bonaparte, the well-beloved, the leader of the French army, the admirer of the religion of Mahomet, has arrived at Cairo. He has entered by the gates of Victory. This is a great day, its like has been never seen. He was at Gaza and at Jaffa; he protected the inhabitants of Gaza, but those of Jaffa, obstinately refused to surrender, consequently in his anger he delivered them up to pillage and slaughter. He has destroyed the ramparts and put to death all to be met with."

During his sojourn at Cairo, Napoleon occupied himself with statistical works on Egypt. The notes which he arranged have been published in the memoirs of his secretary. A fresh incursion of Murad-Bey into Lower Egypt, soon snatched him from his peaceable labours. He quitted Cairo on the 14th of July, and took the road towards the Pyramids.

On the evening of the 5th, however, a messenger from Marmont, who commanded at Alexandria, brought him word that the Turks, under cover of the English, had effected a landing at Aboukir. The General-in-chief immediately fled before the Mussulman army, commanded by Mustafa-Pacha; he was anxious to avenge the disaster of Aboukir in Aboukir itself.

His vengeance was complete. Ten thousand men were cast into the sea, the rest were taken or killed. We will let

Bonaparte speak for himself in his letter to the Directory on this important event:



"I announced to you by my despatch of the 21st Floreal, (11th May) that the season for disembarkations being near, had determined me to quit Syria.

"The 25th Messidor, (14th July) a hundred sail, several of them ships of war, appeared before Alexandria, and anchored at Aboukir. On the 27th, the enemy disembarked, and with singular intrepidity, carried by assault the redoubt of Aboukir. The fort capitulated; the enemy disembarked his field-artillery, and reinforced by fifty sail, took up a position on some lofty sand-hills, supported on his right by the sea, and by the lake Maadich on the left.

"I left my camp of the Pyramids on the 27th and arrived on the 20th of July at Rahmaniah, where I chose Birket for



The Village of Aboukir Stormed.

the centre of my operations, and on the 26th at seven o'clock in the morning, found myself in sight of the enemy.

"General Lannes marched by the borders of the lake, and ranged himself in order of battle, opposite the left of the enemy, whilst General Murat, who commanded the vanguard, ordered General Destaings, supported by General Lanusse, to attack them on the right.

"A fine plain of four hundred fathoms separated the wings of the enemy's army; our cavalry penetrated there, and with the rapidity of thought, found themselves upon the rear of the enemy's left and right, which being mowed down, were nearly all cut to pieces, while numbers drowned themselves in the sea; not one escaped. If it had been an European army, we should have made three thousand prisoners, as it was, there were three thousand killed.

"The second line of the enemy, posted five or six hundred fathoms off, occupied a formidable position. The isthmus is there extremely narrow; the foe was intrenched with the greatest care, and flanked by thirty armed shallops; in advance of this position, the enemy occupied the village of Aboukir, which had been barricaded. General Murat forced the village; General Lannes with the 22nd and a part of the 69th, attacked the left of the enemy; General Fugieres in close columns, attacked the right. The defence and attack were equally fierce; but the intrepid cavalry of General Murat resolved to have the principal honour of the day; they charged the enemy on the left, then fell upon the rear of the right, surprising them in a bad position, and making horrible slaughter. Citizen Bernard, captain of a battalion of the 69th, and citizen Bayle, captain of grenadiers of that demi-brigade, were the first to enter the redoubt.

"The whole of the second line of the enemy, like the first, remained on the field of battle or was drowned.

"The enemy had still three thousand men in reserve, who were placed in the fort of Aboukir, situate about four hundred

fathoms behind the second line; General Lanusse invested and commenced bombarding it with six mortars.

"The shore, which the tides last year strewed with the bodies of the English and French, is again covered with those of our enemies; several thousand have been counted, not a single man of their army has escaped.

"Mustafa, Pacha of Romilly, General-in-chief of the army and cousin-german of the Turkish ambassador at Paris, is, with all his officers, a prisoner; I send you his three tails.

"For gaining this battle, we are chiefly indebted to General Murat. I wish you to promote him to the rank of General of Division; his brigade of cavalry has done wonders.

"I have presented General Berthier, on the part of the executive Directory, with a handsome poniard, as a mark of their satisfaction with the services he has constantly rendered during the whole campaign."

Bonaparte profited by this success to send a messenger to the English admiral; the latter procured for him the French Gazette of Frankfort, of the 10th of June, 1799. The French General who had complained for a long time at being left without news from Europe, perused this sheet with avidity. He there learnt the sad situation of affairs in France, and the reverses of her armies. "Well!" he exclaimed, "my foreboding has not deceived me. Italy is lost! Poor wretches! All the fruit of our victories has disappeared; I must depart."

His determination was formed from that moment, he confided it to Berthier, and to the Admiral Gantheaume, who was charged to prepare two frigates, the *Muiron* and the *Carrère,* besides two small vessels, the Revenge and the Fortune, to convey the General and his suite to France. It was necessary to leave the command of the army in worthy hands. Bonaparte had but to choose between Desaix and Kleber; but being desirous of taking the first with him, he decided upon appointing the latter for his successor, although there did not exist any very good understanding between them. In 1798,

Bonaparte had written to Kleber: "I attach the greatest value to your esteem, and friendship. I am afraid of our



becoming in any way opposed to each other; and you would be unjust if you doubted the pain it would give me. In Egypt, the clouds, when there are any, pass away in six hours; with me, if any arose, they would have vanished in three." All

this evinces the fear of a rupture, rather than mutual sympathy. The two warriors might, and perhaps did esteem each other; but it is evident there was little love between them.

On leaving Egypt, Bonaparte wrote to this General, imparting his intentions, and transmitting the charge which he conferred upon him. Among the instructions which he gave,



we find the following: "The Christians will always be friendly towards us; you must prevent their being too insolent, lest the Turks should take the same dislike to us as to the resident Christians, which would render them our irreconcileable foes."

Was the return of Bonaparte wished for and solicited by the Directory *, who had seen the warrior depart with an

* The messages which Bonaparte received from his brother at the siege of Acre, through the intermediation of an officer named Bourbaki, are spoken of as tending to persuade him to abandon this siege, and return to France. This is unlikely, since Bonaparte complained of the perfect ignorance he was in respecting the affairs of Europe, up to the moment of his departure.

inward satisfaction of which he was not ignorant? A letter has been quoted, signed by Treilhard, Lareveillère, Lépaux, and Barras, according to which Bonaparte had privately resolved upon quitting Egypt. That, however, which appears most certain, is, that disgusted with his views on the East, by the ill-success of his campaign in Syria, and, informed of the state of things, and of the public mind in France, he believed that the moment had arrived for him to disclose his ambitious views, and to turn them towards the West.

"The news from Europe," said he, in a proclamation dated from Alexandria, "has determined me to depart for France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber, who will soon hear from me. It gives me the greatest pain to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached; but it will be for a time only; and the general I leave has my entire confidence, as well as that of the government."

Bonaparte set sail at the end of August, taking with him Berthier, Marmont, Murat, Lannes, Andreossy, Monge, Berthollet, etc. He evaded the English cruiser, which had left the African coast, in order to re-victual in a port of Cyprus. Having thus escaped Sydney Smith, he disembarked at Frejus on the 6th of October.





CHAPTER IX.

Return to France. 18th Brumaire.

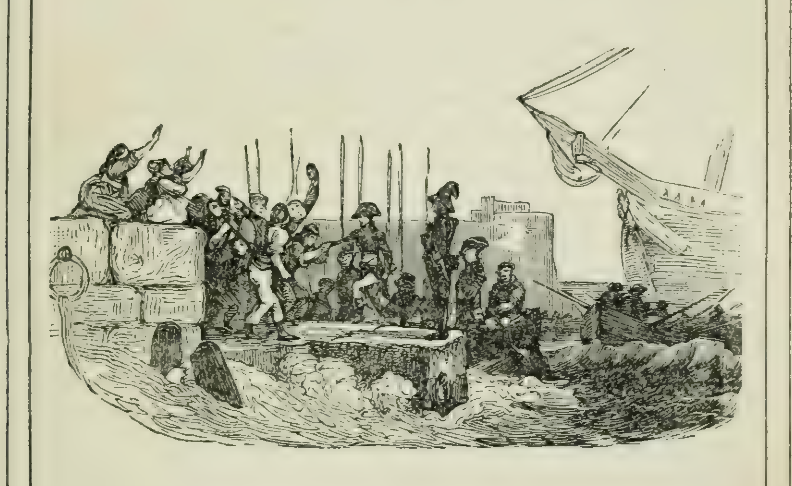


EAVING Egypt, the passage from Alexandria to Frejus was not effected without considerable danger; for immediately after their departure, the little squadron had to struggle so severely against contrary winds, that the admiral proposed returning to port; and this course, which was desired by the whole crew, would have been adopted, but for the firm determination and immoveable resolution of Bonaparte, who had decided upon braving and risking all, in order to accomplish the high destinies which awaited him in Europe. He received the same advice, and met with the same opposition on his dpaerture from Ajaccio, and opposed it with the same firmness.

This fixed resolution, and the strange track which he made Admiral Gantheaume follow, along the coast of Africa, so as to gain the point of Sardinia, in all probability enabled him to escape the English cruisers. The thought of the tediousness of performing quarantine, vexed him sadly, while at the same time, the smallest sail appearing on the horizon, caused him the greatest disturbance. At Ajaccio he had learnt the issue of the fatal battle of Novi, and could not help exclaiming: "If it were not for this cursed quarantine, I should be no sooner on shore; but I should put myself at the head of the Army of Italy, which has still some resources. I am sure there is no general who would refuse me the command of it. The news of a fresh victory gained by me, would reach Paris as soon as that of Aboukir. It would be excellent." It is evident that Bonaparte felt the necessity of diminishing by something striking and extraordinary, the bad impression, which his departure from Egypt might produce; and which would probably expose the General to the reproach of having abandoned his army. But when he was made acquainted with the whole extent of the reverses which the French arms had experienced beyond the mountains, he lost all hope of realizing the rapid triumphs which he had conceived, and fell into that state of affliction which caused it to be said, that he wore mourning for Italy. However, the eagerness of the inhabitants of Frejus, saved him from performing quarantine. As soon as they were informed that General Bonaparte had arrived in their port, they covered the sea with boats, and crowded round the ship which had the great man on board, exclaiming: "We prefer the plague to the Austrians!" All precautions to prevent infection, became therefore impossible to be observed, and Bonaparte profited thereby to hasten his return to Paris.

He had announced his arrival to his brother and to his wife, who set out to meet him; but at Lyons he changed the route he intended to have taken. Josephine and his brothers, not finding him at that city, returned to Paris with all speed.

Whatever opinion might have been formed of the sudden return of a General-in-chief, leaving his army beyond the seas, under a burning sky, and in an unwholesome climate, the great majority of the nation received him as a liberator.



The democracy, after having yielded the nation its immense resources against the stranger, now ended by producing a universal lassitude in the interior. The revolution, which had found such worthy, and such powerful organs in the constituent and legislative assemblies, in the convention, and in the committee for public safety, had nothing to expect from these institutions, and from the leaders of this epoch, because they had allowed their power to be weakened, without any advantage accruing to liberty, and replaced popular omnipotence, by the alternate tyranny of factions. If we add to this, that the Republic, in the hands into which it had fallen, and under the forms which it had taken, had not been able to retain victory to their arms, and that multiplied reverses had made

them lose the fruit of their first and immortal campaigns, it will easily be conceived that all classes were generally disposed for a great political change; and what man, or what men could accomplish it? This was the question afloat, and it was this which gave rise to a thousand conjectures, to a thousand hopes and fears, according to the opinions and interests of those, who had espoused these questions.

Whatever change arose, could not be in any way advantageous to the democracy, which bore all the weight of the national displeasure, and was solely accused as being the cause of the disorder and anarchy, of which every one impatiently awaited the termination. Neither could it turn in favour of royalty, because the bulk of the nation had not ceased to wish for the promised results of the Revolution, although wearied with the torments of a Republican administration; and because the whole army, as has been seen, would immediately have risen against any attempt to restore the Bourbons.

The national opinion, consequently, only manifested its tendency towards a concentration of the public power in vigorous hands. At this crisis, between the invincible repugnance of the people and of the army to a reaction in favour of the Bourbons, and the not less intense fear of an ochlocratic decay, necessity called a man to the head of affairs, who could shield the social reform of 1789 from the dangers to which the negligence of those in authority had exposed it, and who should prevent those active minds, so necessary to preserve the strength and unity of the administrative power, from being turned to advantage by the Royalist party. To fulfil his high mission, this man found himself compelled to dethrone the democracy, and to concentrate the power of the Directory in a single individual. It was necessary that he should be a thorough Revolutionist, unreservedly devoted to the new interests, profoundly imbued with the spirit of his age, elevated by a glory acquired in the service of France, and capable of triumphing by the ascendant of his renown and

his genius, by the fidelity and attachment which patriotic exaltation nourished in many Republican souls for the constitution of the year III. It was also necessary that his arm should offer a safe guarantee against the stranger, and that his name should not have figured among those pitiless statesmen, who had saved the country, and in reward secured nothing but curses for their memory. It was a soldier of the revolution, alone, who could govern the popular lion, and overturn the Republican system, without giving a death-blow to those revolutionary creations which were still so dear to France. This soldier had for a long time foreseen the great task he would have to perform, the moment for commencing which his ambition had anxiously awaited, because consciousness of his own nature, of his position, and of his strength, had convinced him that he united all the requisites for fulfilling it with success.

That which Bonaparte had foreseen and desired agreed too well with the desires and wants of the public, for his presence not to become the precursor of the event, which was to commence a new era in the irresistible course of the French Revolution. Consequently, as soon as his return became known, all parties wished to attach themselves to him, in order to acquire the support of his reputation and genius, and to make use of it towards the success of their plans and combinations.

The majority of the Directory, comprising Barras, Gohier, and Moulins, wished to retain the constitution of the year III; Barras, because he found in it the means of increasing his own power; Gohier and Moulins, because they sincerely believed in the possibility of maintaining the Republican government under its existing form. Sieyes, on the contrary, who had always inwardly cherished a monarchical predisposition, and a scornful repugnance to popular institutions, impatiently awaited an opportunity of displaying and satisfying his secret inclination. He was even accused of having sought to betray the Republic, for the advantage of a prince of the house

of Brunswick, even as Barras was suspected of having, in despair for the success of his cause, and wearied by so many vicissitudes, made overtures to the house of Bourbon. Sieyes, therefore, was already certain of becoming a partizan, of whoever should dare to attempt any innovation against the democratic institutions; and Roger Ducos, his colleague, never ventured to think or act without him. However, at first Bonaparte refused to recognize this inevitable accomplice; he even affected to regard him with the most insulting disdain, at a dinner to which Gohier invited him, the day after the first interview which the General had with the Directory, and at which the greatest reserve and respectful coldness presided. It was after this dinner that Sieyes said good-humouredly: "See how this saucy little fellow treats a member of an authority, which ought to have had him shot."

But this reciprocal estrangement evinced by the metaphysician and the warrior, soon yielded to the mutual desire of changing the political order established in France. Some one happening to say before Bonaparte: "Seek for a support among the persons who treat the friends of France as Jacobins, and be certain of finding Sieyes at their head," the General felt his repugnance diminish, or at least he thought fit to dissimulate, in order to gain the concurrence of the man, whom he had at first so scornfully received, and whom he certainly did not like, in the execution of his designs. The Directory, to rid themselves of his dangerous vicinity, wished to exile Bonaparte to the command of whichever army he chose. But this offer, brilliant as it would have been for any other general, was not sufficient to tempt the future sovereign of France. "I did not wish to refuse," he says, "but I have asked for time to re-establish my health; and that I may not be subjected to other embarrassing offers, I have retired. I shall not return to their sittings; and I have decided for the party of Sieyes; his opinions are of far greater weight than those of the debauched Barras." The combinations

which led to the events of the 18th Brumaire (9th October), were chiefly woven by Lucien Bonaparte in the councils, and by Sieyes, Talleyrand, Fouché, Real, Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, and some others. Fouché, in particular, evinced his impatience to destroy the Republican system, in the most cruel exigences of which he had formerly been an active participator; he said to the secretary of Bonaparte: "Your General must make haste; if he delays, he is lost!"

Cambacérès and Lebrun were slower in deciding. The part of conspirator did not agree with the circumspection of the one, nor with the moderation of the other. Bonaparte, informed of their hesitation, exclaimed, as if the destinies of France were already at his disposal: "I will have no subterfuge; they must not imagine I am in want of them, let them decide to-day; if not it will be too late to-morrow, for I now feel myself strong enough to stand alone."

Nearly all the generals of note then at Paris, entered into the views of Bonaparte; ven Moreau placed himself at his disposal, and we shall soon see the part he consented to play on the day which was in preparation. But the illustrious



conspirator failed in acquiring the support of those of his companions in arms, whose opposition, talents and character,

he most feared. Bernadotte persisted in defending the Republic and the constitution of the year III. Joseph Bonaparte, however, led him, on the morning of the 18th Brumaire to his brother. All the general officers were there in uniform; Bernadotte had come in plain clothes. Bonaparte displeased at this, loudly expressed his surprise, and dragged him to a cabinet, where he explained to him all his projects, with the greatest frankness. "Your Directory is detested," he said to him, "your constitution worn out; it is requisite to make a clear house and give another direction to the government. Go and put on your uniform, I cannot wait for you longer; but you will find me at the Tuileries in the midst of our comrades. Do not rely upon Moreau, nor upon Bournonville. When you are better acquainted with those men, you will see that they promise much and do little. Do not trust them." Bernadotte replied that he would not take part in a rebellion, and Bonaparte then exacted from him a promise of a perfect neutrality, which he could scarcely obtain. "I shall remain quiet as a citizen," replied the austere Republican, who has since allowed himself to be made a king; "but if I receive orders from the Directory to act, I shall march against the rioters." At these words Bonaparte, instead of giving way to his character, compelled himself to master his irritation, so as to prevent by promises and flattery, the hostile intervention of a man of spirit and courage, who might be able to put an end to the conspiracy.

While all this was passing in the small house in the *Rue de la Victoire,* where the conqueror of Arcola and of the Pyramids dwelt, the Council of the Elders sent to him in a message, the following decree:—

"Art. 1. The legislative body is transferred to Saint Cloud.

"Art. 2. The Councils will repair thither to-morrow at noon.

"Art. 3. General Bonaparte is charged with the execution of the present decree. He will take all the necessary mea-

sures for the safety of the national representation. The general commanding the 17th military division, the legislative body-guards, the national guards, the troops of the line, who may be in Paris or within its jurisdiction, and in the whole extent of the 17th military division, are put completely under his orders, etc.

" Art. 4. General Bonaparte is called to the bosom of the Council, to receive there a despatch of the present decree, and to take the oath. He will concert measures with the commissariat inspectors of the two Councils."

The General expected this decree, which had been agreed upon between himself and his partisans in the Council. After reading it to the troops, he added :

" Soldiers !

" This decree of the Council of the Elders is conformably to the articles 102 and 103 of the constitutional act. It has appointed me to the command of the town and the army.

" I have accepted it, in order to second the measures about to be taken, and which are entirely in favour of the people.

" For the last two years, the Republic has been badly governed. You have hoped that my return would put an end to so many evils, * you have celebrated it with a unity which imposes obligations on me, which I shall fulfil ; you will fulfil yours, and you will second your General with that energy, firmness and confidence which I have always remarked in you.

" Liberty, victory, and peace, shall replace the French

* Bonaparte was interested in exaggerating the public evils, in order to justify the revolution which he meditated in the forms of government ; but however deplorable was the situation of the Republic, military affairs did not occasion the same uneasiness as after the battle of Novi ; the successes of Massena had partly repaired their disasters. Therefore when the General in-chief of the army of Egypt told the Directory that he had come, driven by his patriotic alarms, to share the perils of the Republican government, Gohier hastened to reply : " General, they were great, but we have got over them gloriously. You arrive in excellent time to celebrate with us the numerous triumphs of your companions in arms, and to console us for the loss of the young warrior (Joubert) who learnt to fight and conquer at your side." Bonaparte had exaggerated the danger, Gohier in his turn, exaggerated the security.

Republic in the rank which she occupied in Europe, and which inaptitude or treason has alone occasioned her to lose."

The decree of the Elders was published, and a general



muster beaten in every quarter of Paris. Bonaparte afterwards had the following proclamation posted

"Citizens,

"The Council of the Elders, the depository of the national wisdom, has just issued the subjoined decree. It is authorized by the articles 102 and 103 of the constitutional act.

"I have undertaken measures for the safety of the national representation. The legislative body will be compelled to withdraw the representation from the imminent danger into which the disorganisation of all parts of the administration was conducting us.

"In these trying circumstances, the union and confidence of patriots is requisite; it is the only means of seating the Republic on the basis of civil liberty, of internal happiness, of victory and peace."

Whilst Bonaparte thus found himself, and with an appearance of legality, invested with the supreme command of the capital, the Directory did nothing, and it must be said for its justification, could do nothing to disengage itself from the intrigues which surrounded it, so as to maintain at once its authority and the constitution. Gohier was gaily waiting at home at the Luxembourg, for the leader of the conspirators, who had familiarly invited himself to dine with him, and he would not have dared to suspect his famous guest of designing by this invitation to confine the President of the Republic to his dining-room, in order that he might be kept in ignorance of what was done and plotted against the Directorial government. Moulins exhaled his indignation in solitary and impotent protestations; Barras learnt that the blow, of which he had hoped to share the profits, had been struck without him*, and that he had no alternative but to resign himself to the obscurity which was about to be his lot. Sieyes and Roger Ducos had decided upon setting aside their functions, and

* Bonaparte had promised Barras to make him acquainted with his projects, and for this purpose promised to visit him in the evening of the 17th Brumaire. But he was content with sending his secretary, which denoted that the General had his time otherwise employed, and that he had given another direction to his confidence. Barras comprehended this; as soon as he saw M. de Bourrienne enter, he looked upon himself as a lost man, and said, as he reconducted him to the door: "I see that Bonaparte deceives me; he will not return, it is done; nevertheless he owes it all to me." The assurance the secretary strove to give him, that his General would visit him on the next day, did not inspire the Director with any confidence.

On the previous evening, Bonaparte had not been equally embarrassed at the Tuileries, with Botot, the secretary of Barras, whom he mistook for the representative of the Directory, and to whom he addressed a powerful speech, commencing in these words: "What have you done with France?...." An eye-witness, M. Collet, has thus described this memorable scene:

"I know not what genius inspired him at this moment. Sublime images and expressions flowed from his mouth in a torrent of eloquence. He painted France as he had left her; her arsenals filled, her territory increased, her troops well clothed, well fed, every where victorious, etc, etc. then suddenly conveying himself to our last field of battle, he again depicted his soldiers under him, acquainted only with victory, conquered, lying dead on the field of defeat; he pictured their humiliated remnants, etc, etc. All this was drawn in characters so large and imposing, and uttered with a vehemence, with a tone of authority and grief so imposing, that all those who were present were penetrated with indignation against the Directory."

figured, especially the former, among the leaders of the plot. The obstacles, therefore, which Bonaparte had to encounter, existed only in the Council.

On the 19th having made his troops, under the orders of Generals devoted to his service, occupy all the positions of importance; and taking with him Berthier, Lefèvre, Murat,



Lannes, etc, he repaired thither. As for Moreau, he acted the part of jailer to the refractory Directors, Gohier and Moulins, whose resignation was nevertheless announced by one of those lies, of which there was no scarcity at that period. Sieyes and Roger Ducos really sent in theirs; Sieyes, in order to incur no risk, let the event be what it might, took the precaution of putting himself under arrest at his own house.

Barras, informed by Talleyrand of that which the visit of Bourrienne had almost made him anticipate, abdicated into the hands of the renowned negociator, and departed immediately for Grosbois, leaving a letter for the President of the Council of the Elders, in which, after having protested his disinterestedness, and his exclusive love for his country, and for liberty, he declared, "That he should joyfully return to the rank of a private citizen, happy, after so many storms, to relinquish the share which he had borne in the disposition of the destinies of the Republic, which remained uninjured, and more respected than ever."

Although the conspirators thought themselves masters of the Council of the Elders, Bonaparte met with more opposition in this assembly than he had foreseen. His presence was the signal for the greatest uproar, and as he was accustomed to speak to obedient masses, the hostile attitude of several strict Republicans, who shielded themselves with the sacred title of Representative of the people, caused him such emotion and confusion, as were nearly compromising the success of the day. Broken phrases, disjointed words and exclamations, interrupted by the murmurs of the auditory, were all that he could render heard. Sometimes he loaded the democratic party with accusations, sometimes he took a humbler tone, and sought to justify his conduct by the recollection of past services; ending by invoking liberty and equality; and as Lenglet took occasion to remind him of the constitution, he exclaimed with more assurance: "The constitution! you have violated it on the 18th Fructidor, on the 22nd Floreal, on the 30th Prairial. The constitution! it is invoked by all the factions, and has been violated by all—and, now to-day, we have plotted in its name. If I must explain all, if I must mention names, I will say that the Directors, Barras and Moulins have proposed to me to place myself at the head of a party, tending to overthrow all men with liberal ideas."

These last words gave a loose to all the passions which

agitated the breasts of the councillors. Some demanded a secret committee; but the majority was opposed to it, and Bonaparte was called upon to explain himself unreservedly in the face of the nation. His confusion then became greater than ever; and in the midst of the strongest agitation, he finished by exclaiming as he retired: "Who loves, will follow me!"

The storm raged with still more violence in the Council of Five Hundred, of which the majority remained immoveable in its devotion to the Republic and the Constitution. The reading of Barras's letter, confirming all that, which the events of the preceding evening had made him presage, provoked the most energetic propositions against whoever should attempt to interfere with the existing order of things. On the motion of Delbrel, the representatives renewed their oath, when



Bonaparte appeared in the assembly with an escort of grenadiers. At this sight an almost universal indignation

manifested itself in the hall. "Down with the dictator! Down with the Cromwell!" was shouted on all sides, "Bonaparte is outlawed!" Several deputies sprung from their seats, and rushed forward to reproach the General with this profanation of the temple of the laws. "Wretch!" said Bigonnet to him, "what are you doing? retire!" As this demonstration appeared unanimous, Bonaparte, still confused at the unexpected resistance which he had met with from the Elders, beheld himself impotent to struggle against this fresh parliamentary tumult, more menacing than the first, and quickly regained his escort, which soon conveyed him to the midst of his troops *. There he felt more at his ease, and his confidence and boldness were completely restored, when Lucien, who had been forced to abandon the presidency, for not consenting to vote in the proscription of his brother, brought him, not only the support of the authority of which he had just divested himself in the bosom of the assembly, and which nevertheless he persisted in still exercising, but the assistance of his eloquence, courage and activity.

Lucien, mounted on horseback, galloped through the ranks of the soldiery, and with the tone of a man, who still has the poniards of the assassins before his eyes, exclaimed:

"Citizens, soldiers,

"The president of the Council of Five Hundred declares to you, that an immense majority of the Council is at this moment in fear of several representatives of the people, armed with

* It would be needless here to refer to the official version, which strove to transform the representatives of the people into assassins, and which recommended the grenadier Thomè and another of his comrades to the favour of the First Consul, for wounds which neither of them had received. Every body is now aware that the fable of the poniards was only invented in order to palliate the intervention of bayonets, and to excite universal dislike towards the Republicans. Whatever opinion may be formed on the 18th Brumaire, it is impossible not to shudder at all the impostures and calumnies which were made use of by those, who, when success had crowned their efforts, afterwards proclaimed themselves the liberators of the country. France, therefore, was saved by terror, and more than one terrorist employed means, or committed acts which the result cannot justify. History should weigh the acts of Lucien Bonaparte and his accomplices in the same scale.

the stiletto, who besiege the tribune, offer death to their colleagues, and put an end to the most profound deliberations.

"I declare to you that these audacious brigands, doubtless bribed by England, have rebelled against the Council of the Elders, and have dared to speak of outlawing the General charged with the execution of its decree; as though that fearful period still existed, when outlawry was sufficient to make those dearest to the country fall.

"I affirm that this handful of madmen have outlawed themselves by their attempts against the liberty of this Council.

"In the name of that people, which for so many years has has been the plaything of these miserable children of terror, I confide the care of delivering the majority of their representatives to warriors, in order that, freed from the stiletto, by the bayonet, they may deliberate on the lot of the Republic.

"General, and you, soldiers, and citizens all, you will acknowledge none but those who join me, for legislators of France; as for those who shall remain in the conservatory they should be expelled by force! These brigands are no longer the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard. May they ever retain this title! and when they venture to shew themselves to the people, may they be universally designated the representatives of the poniard.

"Long live the Republic!"

This speech still left the soldiers undecided. In order to determine them, Lucien added: "I swear to stab my own brother to the heart, if ever he makes the least attempt against the liberty of the French."

This oath, given with great emphasis, triumphed over the hesitation of the troops. However, it was not without some difficulty that Bonaparte prevailed on himself to give the order to Murat to march at the head of the grenadiers, and disperse the national representation. But, deceived in the hope which he had formed of obtaining all by the ascendance of his presence and discourse, and being strongly urged by his

brothers and the leading conspirators, he decided upon dissolving the assembly by force, and in a moment the hall was deserted.



In order to give to their acts an appearance of legality, the projectors of the 18th Brumaire, once victorious, wished to make use of the constitutional forms which they had just destroyed, and therefore searched on all sides for some remains of the assembly which they had violently expelled, to enable them to form, as it were, the ghost of the national representation. Lucien succeeded in reuniting about thirty of the deputies in the conservatory at St. Cloud, who undertook the exercise of the sovereign power which Bonaparte in reality possessed; and who consequently decreed, besides the election

of sixty-one of their colleagues, the dissolution of the Directory, and the formation of a consulship, consisting of three members, namely:—Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and Bonaparte. This great alteration was effected by nine o'clock in the evening.

It was eleven o'clock, and Bonaparte had not yet taken any nourishment throughout the day. Instead of occupying himself with his physical wants, he only thought, on his return home, although the night was far advanced, of completing this memorable day by announcing and explaining it with his usual tact to the French nation. He composed for this purpose the following proclamation:

"On my return to Paris, I found all the authorities divided, and agreed only in this single fact, that the constitution was half destroyed, and could no longer be a safeguard to liberty.

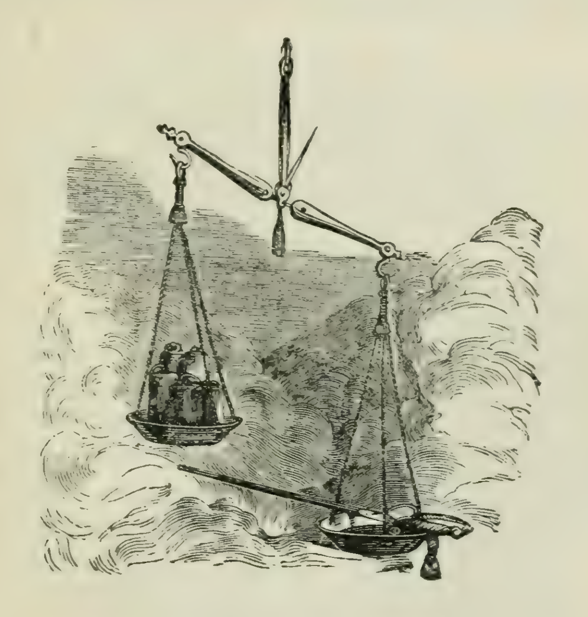
"All parties came to me, entrusted me with their designs, developed their secrets, and asked for my support. I refused to become a party-man.

"I was sent for by the Council of the Elders, and replied to its summons. A plan for a general restoration had been concerted by those men whom the nation had been accustomed to regard as the defenders of liberty, equality, and prosperity. This plan demanded a cool, steady reflection, free from all influence and fear. Consequently, the Council of the Elders resolved upon transferring the legislative body to St. Cloud; and placed the force necessary to maintain its independence at my disposal. I considered that my duty to my fellow-citizens, to the soldiers perishing in our armies, to the national glory, purchased with their blood, obliged me to accept the command of it."

Bonaparte afterwards relates that which took place at St. Cloud, and confirms by his powerful testimony, the audacious invention of Lucien of the stilettos and poniards; he thus ends:

"Frenchmen, I am sure you will acknowledge the zeal of a soldier of liberty, of a citizen devoted to the Republic. All those liberal ideas which were in danger of being lost, have

regained their places, by the dispersion of those factious men who burthened the councils; and who, desiring to become the most odious of men, have only succeeded in becoming the most wretched."





CHAPTER X.

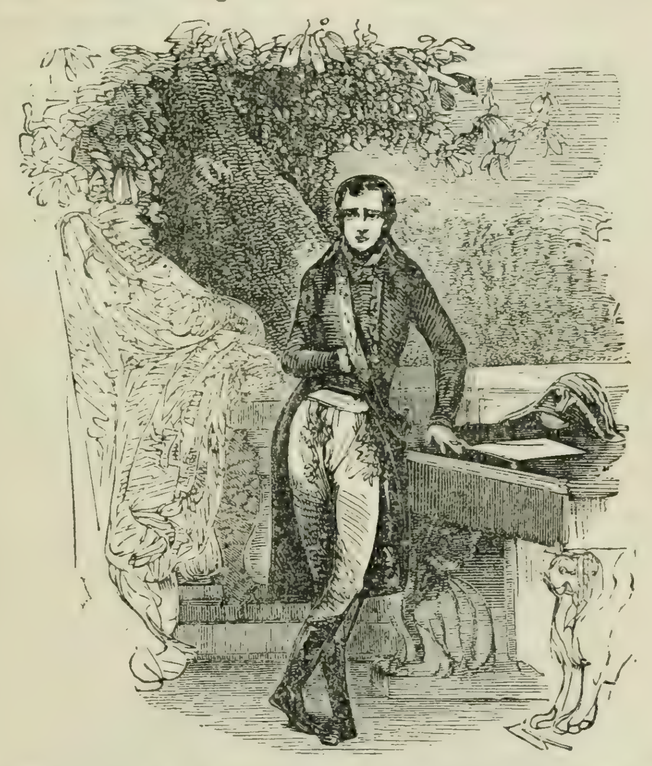
Establishment of the Consular Government.



ONG was it before the mass of inflexible Republicans could be persuaded, that the popular cause, with the democratic form of the constitution of the year III, had not been destroyed by calumny and the sword. The great majority of the upper and middling classes, and the industrious of all ranks, in fact, those who attached the highest value to the prosperity of France, to her domestic pacification and external security; in a word, the whole nation with the exception of some few indomitable spirits, hastened to absolve Bonaparte from all blame in the affair of St. Cloud, which was henceforth universally considered and received as a justifiable event.

Napoleon said at St. Helena: "It has been metaphysically discussed, and will often be discussed again, whether we violated the laws; if we were criminal or not; but these are

mere abstractions, fitted only for books and tribunals, and which ought to give way to imperious necessity; one might as well accuse the sailor of wilful destruction who cuts away his masts to save the vessel from foundering. The fact is, without us the country had been lost, and we saved it. Therefore, the projectors, the great actors in this memorable event, instead of denials and justifications, ought, after the example of the Roman, to be satisfied with replying proudly to their accusers: 'We affirm that we have saved our country, come with us and return thanks to the gods.'



"And indeed, all those who, at the time, took part in the political turmoil, might fairly assert that every one agreed that a change was indispensable, that all wished it, and that

each was endeavouring to effect it by various means. I accomplished mine with the aid of the most moderate. The sudden check given to anarchy, the instant restoration of order, union, power and glory, were the results. Would the Jacobins, or the immoral ones * have been superior to us? I will venture to believe that they would not. Nevertheless, it is hardly to be wondered at, that they should have remained discontented and have been greatly embittered against us. It therefore appertains to a more distant period, to more disinterested men, to pronounce impartially on this weighty affair."

This more distant period has approached, disinterested men have arisen. Although the present generation may be profoundly imbued with that democratic spirit, the representatives of which Bonaparte dispersed, and destroyed the institutions at St. Cloud, the democrats of to-day, personally strangers to the violent impressions, which this dispersion and destruction caused in the most ardent patriots, must be perfectly free from the legitimate resentment, and from the just animosity of their fathers, in order to decide coolly, and with historic impartiality, if this *coup d'état*, which was aimed at the most fervent revolutionists, and which excited everything that was most strict, most ardent, and most pure, among the Republicans and Democrats, was not, after all, more favourable than fatal to the march of the Revolution, and even to the future existence of democracy.

When Bonaparte presented himself sword in hand, to establish his own ideas, and his own will, in the place of the laws which the people had established, and of the magistrates which the people had elected, it was evident that the laws and

* The three parties which the Revolution gave birth to, and which strove for the upper-hand, were thus designated by Napoleon; "The *manége* (the Jacobins), one of the leaders of which was a well-known General (Bernadotte, Jourdan and Augereau belonged to it); *the moderates*, led by Sieyes; and *les pourris* (the rotten ones) with Barras at their head." He adds that the Jacobins offered him the dictatorship, which he refused, because he knew that after having conquered with them, he would be immediately compelled to conquer against them."

the magistrates of the nation were impotent to defend her cause against her internal and external enemies ; it was because the course of the Revolution was shackled, its definitive success compromised by weakness or the corruption of power ; it was because the country was in danger of being sacrificed to anarchy, and every mean passion liable to be evinced by the discordant factions.

It was evident that the Revolution had exhausted its democratic resources, and that it had only made use of the forms. After having conquered through the omnipotence of the multitude, it was in danger of being wounded itself, by the formidable weapon it had made use of to secure the victory. This novel situation required a novel form of government; the dictatorship of a single man was to repair the disorders which the dictatorship of so many could not repress. It was one of the finest manifestations of the revolutionary power, this facility of finding, according to the need of the moment, ideas, and men capable of carrying out these ideas, under an appearance of reaction and contrast, but, in reality all blended in one common interest, and with the identical aim in view. Royalty and the European aristocracies, which had trembled before the sovereign people, when it expressed itself by millions of voices, and agitated millions of heroic arms, accustomed themselves to dread it no longer, and even began to resume some of their former advantages over it, since the multiplicity of its organs had produced such fatal divisions, and broken the imposing unanimity for which it was indebted to its days of peril, and by means of which it had acquired its days of glory. It was requisite that the sovereign people should compel its irrcconcileable enemies again to shew it that respect and fear, which they had endeavoured to shake off, and that it should bear into their very capitals that standard of reform, the attacks against which it had hitherto contented itself with repelling. In order to arrive at this magnificent result, it was only requisite to change its tactics,

and mode of proceeding, to re-invigorate itself by a great metamorphosis. The immense number of its organs had ended by exposing it to dissensions and internal distractions; the greater part of the members of its body, worn out by a long struggle were destroyed, ruined, or deceased. Its will and action, were as though broken on the wheel, wanting unity and strength; its strength and unity were restored to it, by seasonably submitting to be guided by the genius of a single man.

Therefore Bonaparte did not dethrone the people at St. Cloud, he only altered the representation of it; and rendered it whole. The people shewed that this was comprehended, by enthusiastically hailing their future sovereign. As the constituent assembly, and committee of public welfare had expressed the national will, during the period of its destruction and resistance; in the same manner, the dictator, who afterwards possessed himself of the titles of consul and emperor, gloriously expressed it in the period of re-organization. After so many faults since committed by the great man; after so many illiberal deviations, so many unexpected reverses and sudden outrages, the people has remained unshaken in the idea formed by it, and the idea of the people, is the sole one of which perseverance attests the infallibility. On this political ocean, which by its ebbing and flowing has, for the last thirty years absorbed so much, and absorbs every day such vast renown, and such brilliant reputations, the memory of Napoleon alone floats, braving the tempest and the waves, which only serve to elevate him, in order that he may receive from a greater height, the imperishable testimony of popular sympathy.

It is not to the prodigies of his sword that he owes this immense and lasting popularity. The worship of his name, more religiously observed in the cottage than in the palace, sufficiently indicates that, far from having arrested the developement of democratic principles and interests, he might

fairly be called the first democrat of Europe ; for it is not without reason that the people still look upon him as the revolutionist who most powerfully shook the fancied superiority of birth and fortune, by the emancipation of merit, which became the sole title to all offices of responsibility ; many of those chosen, attained a throne, and trampled under foot the *parvenus* of pride, and the trappings of ancient royalty, thus leaving an open field, and a vast carrier for the spirit of equality, from the lowest to the most elevated step of the political hierarchy.

Let not, therefore, those who may be strongly prejudiced in favour of the destinies of their country, hastily espouse the personal quarrel of the Republicans of the year VIII, and command Bonaparte to render an account of the constitution of the year III ; more especially as it cannot be denied that his usurpation, since people choose to call it such, was only one of the masks under which the revolutionary spirit was to consolidate itself in France, and spread over Europe. Mirabeau was thus an usurper, when in order to vest the sovereign power in an assembly, over which he felt capable of reigning alone, he incited the lower orders to despise its edicts, to destroy the ancient distinctions of classes, to throw down the existing laws, in order that he might proclaim himself the sole depositary of the constitutional power. It appertains, indeed, only to those who are blinded by their resentments or their scruples, to question thus the legality of a mission which leads to the accomplishment of such great things.

If Bonaparte did not extinguish the democratic volcano, of which he has been sometimes accused, and at other times congratulated for doing, but if he only concealed the crater, at first beneath the consular chair, and afterwards beneath the imperial throne, the Republican mind should, nevertheless, acquit him of having sacrificed the forms of democracy, to the safety and propagation of his own interests. Without him, the Republic would not the less have perished ; but

some years more of existence under impotent laws, and despised authorities, would only have aggravated the evil which devoured it, and the accusations with which it was overwhelmed. Such would have been the progress of lassitude and disgust, that a violent reaction might have operated against the revolution, without even permitting any of its partisans to guide its steps in the direction of the new interests; and we might have beheld at the commencement of the nineteenth century that restoration which did not take place until fifteen years later. Doubtless, the restoration would not have succeeded better in the main, than at present; but it would have been more likely to have lasted, if it had come, favoured by civil discords, in the train of an internal commotion, and appearing as a spontaneous act of the nation; which would have preserved it from the original vice with which it had been grafted by its alliance with the stranger; a radical vice, which has overthrown it after so short a career. At that period, moreover, it would have met with the greater part of the generations which had been brought up under the *ancien régime*, and which the revolutionary troubles had somewhat reconciled to the good old times. On the other side, the children of the revolution, who had arrived at manhood in 1815, and whose entry into public affairs caused the Bourbons to despair, would have had their liberal education put a stop to at its commencement, and they would have been able so much the more easily to have made them irrevocably detest the Republic. It was then, although involuntarily, in favour of the very interests of Republicanism, that Bonaparte overthrew the Republican system: and it may be said, that in reality he destroyed neither the Republic nor the Revolution; but that he only hindered for a long time the display of the hatred felt for it, and thereby rendered the restoration too difficult and too distant.

The Republicans at that period could not thus judge of the blow which had just been aimed at them. Their irritation disturbed the new government, who at first thought of

proscribing some of their leaders. However, the honourable citizens destined for this ostracism, were let off, and merely placed under *surveillance*.

To give a complete idea of the disorder which reigned in France under the Directory, when Bonaparte snatched the power from it, it will be sufficient to state that the consul wishing to send a courier express to Championnet, who commanded in Italy, there was not sufficient money found in the public treasury to pay the expences of the journey; and when he wished to know the state of the armies, he was forced to send commissioners to the spot, for want of lists being kept at the war-offices. "But at least," said Bonaparte, to those employed by the ministry, "you must know what is paid, which will bring us somewhat near the mark."—"We do not pay it," was the reply.

At the first sitting of the consular-commission, Sieyes, who flattered himself that he should obtain by his age and his political antecedents, some mark of deference on the part of



his young colleague, of whom he was more jealous than ever, immediately asked: "Which of us shall preside?" This was in a manner forcing his colleagues to yield him that honour.

But, on this occasion, the importance of the question gave way to courtesy, and Roger Ducos promptly responded: "Do you not see that the General presides already?"

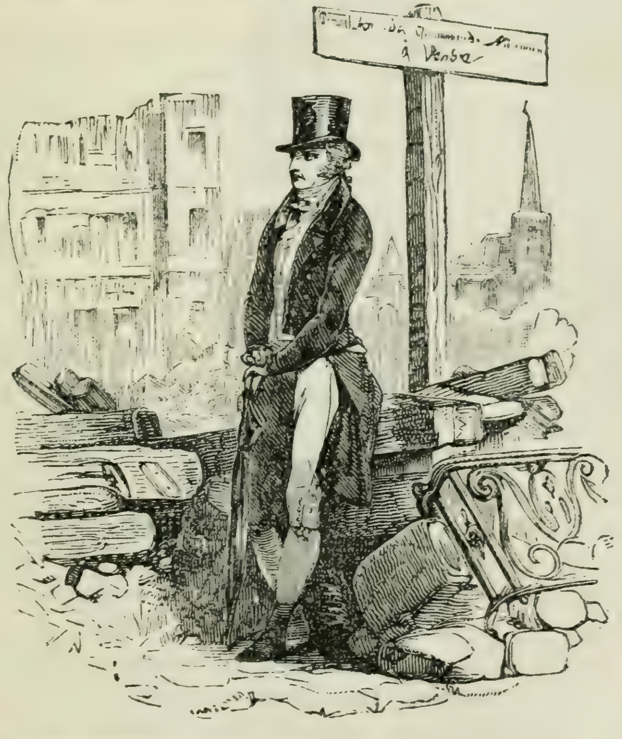
Sieyes, hemmed in as he was with metaphysics, could not conceive that a young man just issued from the camp, and whose whole existence seemed to have been absorbed in study and military labours, would be able to contest the care and glory of imagining fresh governmental combinations, with a veteran legislator, of whom it was truly said, that, like Thomas Payne, he always had a constitution in his pocket. He therefore boldly presented the fruit of his daily meditations, and when, in accordance therewith, he came to propose a grand-elector, who was to reside at Versailles, with an income of six million francs, and no other function but that of naming two consuls, subject to the approval of the senate, who were to have the power of annulling the election, and even of deposing the grand-elector, Bonaparte began to laugh, and to cut down, according to his own expression, the metaphysical fooleries of his colleague. Sieyes, who was as timid as vain, when he met with any serious resistance, defended himself badly. He was anxious to justify his conception by an analogy with royalty. "But," replied the General, "you take the abuse for the principle, the shadow for the substance. And how could you possibly imagine Mr. Sieyes, that a man of any talent, and of the least honour would readily resign himself to act the part of a pig being fattened on a few million francs?"

From that moment, it was all over between the metaphysician and the warrior; they understood mutually, that they could not act in concert. The constitution of the year VIII was promulgated. It established a ghost of the national representation, divided into different bodies, the senate, the tribune's office, and the legislative body, whilst the actual representation was centered in the consulate, or rather in the First Consul.

Once arrived at this supreme position, Bonaparte shook off Sieyes, who was easily prevailed upon by means of a pension.

He also got rid of Roger Ducos, who naturally fell back into the senate; and took for his new colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun.

The first measures of the consulate could only be reparations. The law of hostages, and that of forced loans were revoked. Toleration replaced persecution; philosophy, supported by power, permitted believers to recal their priests, and re-build their altars. Emigrants and proscribed persons of all opinions, and of all periods returned; Carnot, among others, passed from exile, to the Institute, and the ministry.



At the commencement of his supreme magistracy, and whilst he still resided at the Luxemburg, Bonaparte preserved all the simplicity of taste, manners, and style, to which his

natural disposition inclined him, and which his residence in camps, had anything but weakened. He boasted the greatest sobriety, and, nevertheless, he already foresaw that he should become a great eater, and that his meagreness would forsake him, and give place to corpulence. The warm baths, which he very frequently used, were, perhaps, not wholly uninfluential in regard to this last change. As for sleep, he took seven hours of the twenty-four; and he always desired that he might not be awakened, at least if there were no bad news stirring: "For," said he, "there is no hurry with good news, whilst with bad, there is not a moment to lose."

Despite the somewhat plebeian life which he led in his consular palace, he received daily all the first characters of the time, and Josephine did the honours of his drawing-room, with the grace and urbanity of a lady of the old French school. It was there that the terms of politeness and civility, which Republican rigour had banished from conversation, dared to make their appearance, in spite of the penalties attached thereto, and that *Sir* endeavoured again to put itself in vogue at the expence of *Citizen.*

The First Consul, usually absorbed in his meditations and reveries, seldom took part in the witty conversations, and agreeable pastimes of the brilliant circle which began to surround him. Sometimes he happened to be in a good humour, and he then proved by the charm, the abundance and even vivacity of his words, that he could be the most amiable of men if he chose. But he did not always choose to be so, and the ladies, especially, had reason to complain of his ill-will.

Stern in appearance, and easily giving way to his passions, Bonaparte hid under this species of external savageness, a soul accessible to the most affectionate tenderness, and the softest emotions. Although sombre and morose, sharp and violent, severe and inexorable when burthened with his political occupations, or appearing on the stage as a public



BONAPARTE.

man; still he displayed gentleness, familiarity, extreme tenderness and good-fellowship, in the intimate relations of private life.

In support of that which we here advance of the goodness of heart, and the domestic affections of Napoleon, we cannot do better than quote part of a letter which he wrote in the year III, to his brother Joseph: "In whatever position fortune may place thee, thou well knowest, my brother, thou can'st have no better friend, to whom thou can'st be more dear, or who more sincerely desires thy welfare..... Life is but a clouded dream, which soon vanishes. If thou goest, and thinkest it may be for any time!!! send me thy portrait. We have lived so many years together, so closely united, that our hearts are as one; and thou knowest better than any one, how entirely mine is devoted to thee; in tracing these lines I feel an emotion which has not often possessed me; something tells me we shall not see each other for some time, and— I cannot go on with my letter .... "

Madame Letitia was in the habit of saying, speaking of her son Napoleon, when at the summit of his power: "Good, the Emperor has done well." M. de Bourrienne renders the same testimony, although pretending that Napoleon affected not to believe in friendship, and that he had even declared he loved no one. This contradiction is explained by regarding the different positions: the statesman has no private affections, and it is thus that Napoleon, amid the general interests, with which he was laden, said that he loved no one. But apart from politics, he allowed Nature amply to resume her rights; and he has often been seen to temper the joy and intoxication of triumph, even on the field of battle, by a return to sentiments which the trade of war compelled him to stifle or restrain. During the campaigns of Italy, and after a bloody contest, he passed with his staff through the midst of the dead and wounded; his officers, rejoiced at their victory, gave a loose to their enthusiasm, without allowing it to be

arrested by the heart-rending spectacles, which were incessantly offered to them. Suddenly, the victorious General, perceived a dog howling by the side of the body of an Austrian soldier: "Look, gentlemen," he said, "this dog teaches us a lesson of humanity."



But whatever position those sentiments, which form the basis of private virtues, and of domestic happiness, may have held in the heart of Napoleon, and whatever value he may have attached to this happiness, it was nevertheless his duty to sacrifice it to the glory and prosperity of the people, of whom he had just constituted himself the sole representative; for, we repeat it, although the new constitution had entrusted the executive power to three consuls, every body was perfectly aware that only one held sway; consequently, from the moment of their installation, Cambacérès and Lebrun, as M. de Bourrienne expresses it, resembled rather two witnesses than two colleagues of Bonaparte. It would seem, therefore, that the monarchy was actually re-established, under the title of Republic. The First Consul did all, and ought to have done all that which the people had a right to expect from the source of his power, from the ascendancy of his character, and from the sway of

circumstances. Talleyrand had foreseen all this, and like a skilful courtier, he had acted accordingly towards Bonaparte, from the first day that he had to labour in concert with him, as minister for foreign affairs.

"Citizen Consul," said he to him, "you have entrusted to me the management of foreign affairs, and I will justify your confidence; but I think it my duty to declare, that, from this moment I will only labour in concert with yourself. In this there is no vain pride exhibited on my part; I speak for the good of France alone; in order that she may be well governed, that there may be unity of action, it is requisite that you should be First Consul, and that the First Consul should hold every thing which relates immediately to politics; that is to say, the ministerships of the interior, and of the police for civil affairs, my ministership for foreign affairs, and lastly, the two great organs of execution, the army and navy. It will therefore be necessary that the ministers of these five departments, should act with you alone. The administration of justice and good order in the finances, is doubtless also connected with politics, but not so closely. If I might venture to advise, General, I should suggest that it would be better to give the second Consul, who is well versed in the law, the superintendence of judicial affairs; and to the third Consul, who is equally well acquainted with finance, the superintendence of the revenue. This will occupy and amuse them; and you, General, having at your disposition all the vital portions of the government, you will arrive at the noble aim which you propose to yourself, the re-generation of France."

"Do you know, Talleyrand is an excellent councillor?" said Bonaparte to his secretary, when this minister had departed. "He is a man of great sense ...... He is far from wrong, and has seen through me. You know I am anxious to perform that which he advises; but, once more, he is right; one goes quicker alone. Lebrun is an honest man, but he has no politics in his head, though he can make books; Camba-

cérès has too great a liking for the Revolution. It is requisite that my government should be perfectly new."

It was evident that this essential character of novelty was shortly understood by every body; since, on the one hand, the friends of the Revolution unanimously approved of the consular government, although it had been built on the ruins of the Republican constitution of the year III; and, on the other, that portion of the populace blindly devoted to the old system, refused their consent to the new power, despite all the acts of conciliation and prudence which had marked its installation.

Fearful lest this obstinacy should re-kindle the civil war in the West, the First Consul immediately addressed a proclamation to those provinces, warning them against the dissensions which the agents of England were endeavouring to set afloat. His cautions, supported by an army of sixty thousand men, were fortunately attended to, and prevented a general explosion. However, the royalist chiefs, backed in their perseverance, both by their personal convictions, and by the encouragement of European diplomacy, remained under arms, always ready to re-commence the struggle. Bonaparte, who could not take with regard to them, the language and tone of historic impartiality, and who could not even have fulfilled the revolutionary mission with which he was charged from on high, if he had been capable of hiding from himself, with the apathy of a philosophic observer, the fresh threats of emigration, behaved with his usual energy towards the obstinate provokers of the Royalist insurrection, and pointed them out, in a proclamation, to the contempt of the nation, and the vengeance of the army.

The royalists comprehended that the time for civil war was gone by, and that they had no more campaigns to make, and battles to offer against the new representative of the revolution, and that they might resign themselves to being hidden from view in the history of La Vendée; happy in being able to leave, in

addition to the annals of their fidelity and heroism, acts of pillage and murder, theft and assassination, which might hereafter form the sole and ignoble trophies of the bands which infested the West and South, after the destruction of the royalist armies *.



To suppress or punish the obstinate enemies of the Republic, and to reward its intrepid defenders, was the twofold aim which Bonaparte pursued with the most unshaken firmness,

* It was about this time, that several eminent men of the Royalist party, imagined that, following the example of Monk, Bonaparte would devote himself to the restoration of monarchy. Brought secretly before him, he said; "I forget the past, and open a vast field for the future. Whoever goes in the right path shall be protected, without distinction; but whoever swerves either to the right or left, will be annihilated. Let all the Vendeans who wish to join the national government, and place themselves under my protection, follow the broad track which is marked out for them...."

with the most rigorous justice. Knowing how much merit loves to be distinguished, how much it improves by seeing itself appreciated, he distributed a hundred swords of honour to those soldiers who had signalized themselves by striking acts; and the people who beheld honourable tokens awarded to bravery, which had formerly been reserved for birth, applauded this distribution, which, far from wounding equality, for which the revolution had taken place, established it, on the contrary, on the indestructible basis of justice, on the proportional remuneration of services and virtues.



A letter of thanks which he received at this period from a sergeant of grenadiers named Aune, gave him the opportunity

of making the following reply: "I have received your letter, my brave comrade," he wrote, "you had no occasion to have spoken to me of your actions, for I was acquainted with them all. You are the bravest grenadier the army has boasted since the death of the valiant Benezette. You had one of the hundred swords, which I have distributed to the army, presented to you; all the soldiers are agreed that you were the most worthy of it.

"I have a great desire to see you again; the minister of war will send you an order to repair to Paris."

Whatever secret views Bonaparte might have concealed under his demonstrations of frankness and familiarity; it is at all events better to see him thus flatter and reward bravery, than to follow him to the festivals given in honour of men who were reputed to have preserved him at, St. Cloud from dangers to which he had not been exposed. If it be true, also, that Bonaparte sought for popularity in order to favour the ambitious ideas which he cherished in his soul, and if it be equally incontestable that the consideration of his personal grandeur, of his power and renown, considerably influenced his military and political enterprises, we must still acknowledge that this power and grandeur must equally belong to France, whose destinies were entrusted to him; and, that, whilst labouring for his own glory, for the success of his ambition, for his immortality, he was in reality labouring for the elevation and for the future prosperity of that people, which he had first addressed by the title of Great, and the admirable personification of which he presented in his own person and genius. The unlimited power which he enjoyed, was only to serve him as a lever to compel the spirit of equality, and the genius of modern civilisation, to make that fresh progress, which the spirit of liberty, shackled by its external forms, could not favour or accomplish itself. The arts and sciences, in fact, received every encouragement; national industry, paralysed by civil discords, took a higher flight than

ever. The bank of France was established; the standard of weights and measures, arranged by the Institute, obtained the legislative sanction; in a word, Bonaparte realized, as chief of the French government, that which he had conceived, wished, and foreseen, when he was but a Republican General, and had shewn himself so anxious to enrich the National Museum, to question professors, to place the *savans* at the head of his staff, and to recommend himself to the esteem and respect of nations, by his title of Member of the Institute, in preference to that of Commander-in-chief of the armies.

The Consul was the more happy at being able to preside at intellectual conquests, and to encourage the progress of science, since, in his youth, he had indulged in dreams of scientific glory, and even of surpassing Newton. "When young," he says, "I imagined I might become a discoverer, a Newton." M. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire relates that he has heard him say: "The pursuit of arms has become my profession; but it was not my own choice; for I embraced it from circumstances." Near the conclusion of his sojourn at Cairo, he sharply apostrophised Monge, who affectedly repeated the words of Lagrange: "No one will ever rival the fame of Newton, there was but one world to discover."—"What do I hear?" he exclaimed; "but in THE WORLD OF DETAILS! who has ever thought of that? From the age of fifteen, I have believed in it.... Who has paid attention to the character of intenseness and attraction, at a short distance, to the actions of the minutest atoms, which we are, in a manner, compelled to observe?"

Under the weight of his warlike occupations, and in the midst of the daily triumphs which marked his campaign in Italy, he always remained true to his tastes, and never ceased to labour for the political aggrandisement of France, and scientific research in the cause of civilization.

At Pavia, he interrogated the physiologist Scarpa. In 1801, he held some conferences with the physician Volta, whom he

loaded with presents and honours. In 1802, he offered a prize of 60,000 francs to whoever by his discoveries and experiments should advance electricity and galvanism in an equal degree with Franklin and Volta. He also demanded of the Institute a recapitulation of the progress which had been made in the arts, sciences and literature, since the Revolution. Chenier was entrusted with the literary part.

The care of pacifying and organizing the Republic internally, did not exclusively occupy the First Consul; he thought also of peace without, with which he would willingly have completed the benefits which had marked his elevation to power. With this view, he ordered M. Talleyrand to open negociations with the cabinet of London; and on the 26th December, 1799, he himself wrote the following letter to the King of England, immediately after his installation as Consul in conjunction with Cambacérès and Lebrun:

"BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL OF THE REPUBLIC TO HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"Called by the voice of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I have thought it fitting, on entering upon this office, to make your majesty immediately acquainted therewith.

"Is the war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, to be eternal? is there no method of coming to an understanding?

"How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, each more powerful and mighty than their safety or independence requires, how can they sacrifice the good of commerce, internal prosperity, and the welfare of families to ideas of vain grandeur? How is it that they do not feel, that they have the most need of peace, since it is so conducive to glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who governs a free nation, with the sole aim of rendering it happy.

"In this overture I make, your majesty will observe my sincere desire, for the second time, to contribute efficaciously to the general pacification, by a prompt step, in which I have dispensed with all those forms, which may perhaps be necessary with petty states to conceal their weakness, but which with powerful nations only reveal their mutual desire of cheating each other.

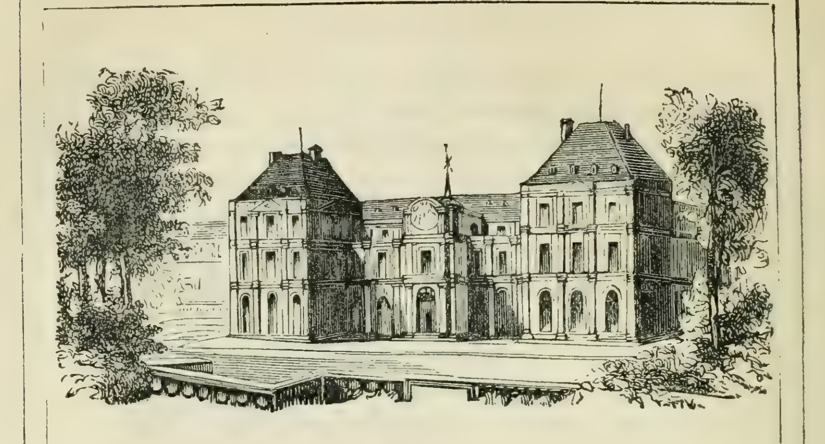
"France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may, unhappily for the world, retard this; but, I will venture to affirm, that the lot of all civilized nations, is concerned in the termination of a war which embraces the whole universe.

"Bonaparte."

This was by no means a vain display of moderation and philanthropy. If Bonaparte had wished for a continuation of hostilities, if he had loved warfare alone, with which he has been so often reproached, he would certainly not have made this pressing and direct proposition to the King of England. Doubtless he believed that peace would be advantageous to his government, and he especially depended for strengthening and rendering his administration beloved, on the support of France and European civilization. And then, with what frankness, with what dignity and tact he speaks of his contempt for diplomatic forms! By this language, the child of democracy, the depositary of the interests of the Revolution, is easily recognized. The old king, however, refused to entertain the innovation which the Republican magistrate had endeavoured to introduce in regard to diplomatic affairs, and replied, by Lord Grenville, that the direct correspondence, opened by the First Consul, was not agreeable to him, and he even bade the minister indite a despatch full of recriminations against France. Bonaparte comprehended that, to compel this obstinate enemy to the political regeneration of the French people, to accept of peace, something more was requisite than an appeal to his reason and generosity. At the

same time he had no desire to keep two such powerful adversaries as London and Vienna in arms against him; and in order to detach one or other from the coalition against France, he made overtures to both. His efforts were repulsed on all sides. The antipathy which the foreign courts had conceived against the French nation since the origin of the Revolution, could only yield to victory or necessity.





CHAPTER XI.

Change of the Consular Residence to the Tuileries. Fresh campaign in Italy. Battle of Marengo. Return to Paris. National Rejoicing.



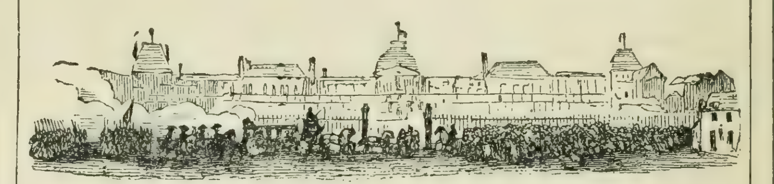
ONG had the First Consul been aware of the importance of the forms with which power is clothed, and of the influence of the slightest external circumstances with which it is surrounded; consequently he did not fail to apply and bestow on his own, all that which might extend and increase its splendour in the eyes of the people. The palace of the Luxemburg had been the residence of an infirm authority, issued from the revolutionary assemblies, and fallen, amidst the acclamations of France, under the weight of the public repugnance, which had given rise to, and daily rendered the prolongation of anarchy more certain; this was sufficient to render Bonaparte uneasy in his present dwelling. That which had been sufficient

to lodge, even luxuriously, a government essentially provisional, and whose brief existence presented a period of distraction, crime, and disaster to the public view, was no longer suited to an administration feeling its own unity and strength, and which aspired to add duration to its power and glory. The royal palace became hereafter requisite for the Consul, since he in reality exercised regal power; and it was at the Tuileries alone consecrated by national tradition as the natural seat of the heads of the state, and as a sort of government sanctuary, that Bonaparte could reside. Several of the Republican party insinuated that he was induced to this by his secret inclination for the old monarchy, the restoration of which they already expected through his means; but between the 10th of August and the 18th Brumaire, between Louis XVI and Napoleon, there had elapsed many days, and intervened various authorities, properly speaking, dear to the democrats; there had been the convention and the committee of public welfare, which had also held their sittings in the royal residence; and surely this was sufficient for its revolutionary inauguration, sufficient to banish from it for ever, the menacing shade, and all the evil influences of the old system.

The resolution of the Consul having been once taken, his installation in his new residence was fixed for the 19th January, 1800. This day being come, he said to his secretary: "Ah! well! to-day then, at length, we are going to sleep at the Tuileries. One must go there with some pomp, which annoys me; but it is requisite to speak to the eyes; it is better for the people. The Directory was too simple, and therefore enjoyed so little consideration. With the army, simplicity is in its place; in a large town, in a palace, it is necessary for the head of a government to attract all eyes by every possible means."

At one o'clock precisely, Bonaparte quitted the Luxemburg, followed by a procession more imposing than magnificent, and of which the fine order of the troops formed the chief

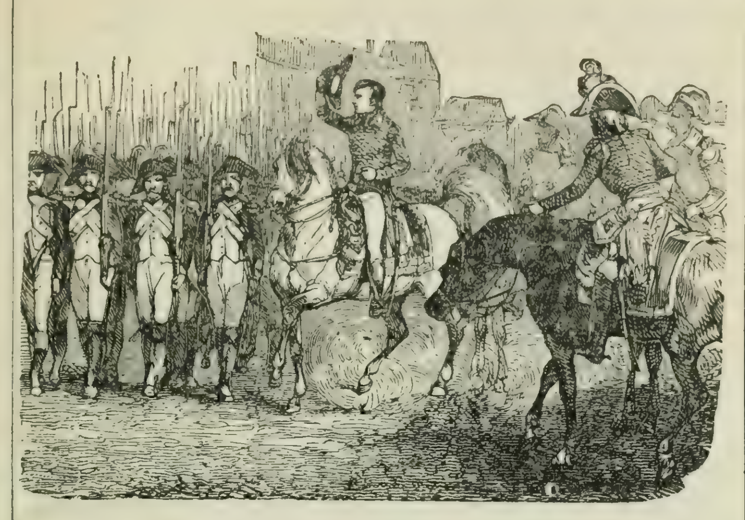
pomp. Each body marched with its band in front; the generals and their staffs were on horseback, and the people followed them in crowds, in order to see and admire closely the heroes of so many battles, the flower of those warriors whose names had been rendered so familiar to them by the campaigns of the Revolution. But amidst them all, they chiefly sought for him who was not merely elevated above the others by his power, but because he had always proved himself superior to them by his genius and services, the man in whom was centered the military glory of the age, and to whose fortune France proudly entrusted her own destiny. All eyes were



fixed on the First Consul, whose carriage was drawn by six white horses which the Emperor of Germany had given him after the treaty of Campo-Formio. Cambacérès and Lebrun, placed in front of his coach, seemed to be merely the chamberlains of their colleague. The procession passed through the greater part of Paris, and the presence of Bonaparte every where excited the greatest enthusiasm, "who then," says an unsuspected witness, M. de Bourrienne, "had no occasion to be watched by the police."

Arrived at the court-yard, the Consul, with Murat and Lannes at his side, passed the troops in review. When the 96th, 43rd and 30th demi-brigades filed before him, he took off his hat and bowed in token of respect at sight of their colours, torn to shreds by the fire of the enemy, and blackened with powder. The review ended, he installed himself unostentatiously in that which had formerly been the regal dwelling.

However, to ward off any suspicion of a speedy monarchical



restoration, he desired the royal residence might only become his under the title of Palace of Government; and in order to allay still more any Republican susceptibilities, he sent into his new abode a quantity of pictures and statues of those great men of antiquity, whose memory was most dear to the friends of liberty.

David, among others, was charged to place his Junius Brutus in one of the galleries of the consular habitation. A fine bust of the second Brutus was also introduced there, which had been brought from Italy.

All these precautions of the First Consul, displayed, with a strongly marked monarchical tendency, the profound sentiment of its origin, and of its revolutionary position. This feeling continued to influence him, and when, later, he appeared to have dispensed with it, the people retained it for him; for, as Madame Letitia was not to be deceived as to the heart of her son by his severe measures, and as she constantly persisted in saying: "Good, the Emperor has done well;" so, the people of France, by a sort of instinct, continued obstinately to remark of the Consul and Emperor, when he appeared most unfaithful

to the purport of his mission, and when he strove to restore regal pomp and a throne: "Bonaparte has done well, he is a democrat."

It is from his installation at the Tuileries, that those reparatory measures and great establishments must be dated, some of which have already been pointed out, such as the decree abolishing the list of emigrants, the organization of the Bank of France, and those of the prefectures. An event which had just thrown the Republicans of America into dismay, soon furnished the First Consul with a fresh opportunity of manifesting that, despite his rapid attainment of the supreme power, he still considered himself as the first magistrate of a Republic, and bound up as such, by an imperishable sympathy with the destiny of all free nations.

"Washington is dead!" was written in an order of the day addressed to all the troops of the Republic, "this great man fought against tyranny; he has established the liberty of his country; his memory will ever be dear to the French nation, as to every freeman of the two worlds, and especially to the French soldiers, who, like him and the American warriors, fought for liberty and equality.

"In consequence of which, THE FIRST CONSUL commands that, for the space of ten days, black crape shall be hung upon all the standards and colours of the Republic."

On the same day the consuls proclaimed the result of the votes taken on the new constitutional act.

Out of three million, twelve thousand, five hundred and sixty-nine voters, fifteen hundred and sixty-two had rejected, and three million, eleven thousand seven hundred had accepted the constitution.

About this period, news of the army of Egypt reached the government. The despatches were addressed to the Directory, and Kleber did not spare Bonaparte in them, whom he accused of having abandoned his army to nakedness and distress. The First Consul, who destroyed these despatches, considered



Bonaparte Crossing the Alps.

it fortunate their having fallen into his hands. Incapable, however, of sacrificing to his personal resentment, that which the general interests of France required of him, he replied solemnly to Kleber, as a man who knew how to govern himself, thereby proving how worthy he was to command others. This reply was a proclamation addressed to the army of the East, and which was certainly admirably conceived to hide the nature of the messages and reports recently arrived from Egypt; it was as follows:

"Soldiers,

"The Consuls of the Republic are often busied with the army of the East.

"France is aware of the great influence your conquests have had in the restoration of her commerce and the civilisation of the world. The eyes of all Europe are upon you. I am often with you in imagination.

"In whatever position the chances of war may place you, always remain the soldiers of Rivoli and Aboukir, and you will be invincible.

"Repose that unlimited confidence in Kleber which you had in me. He deserves it.

"Soldiers, think of the day when you will return victorious to our sacred territory; it will be a glorious day for the whole nation."

However, the court of Vienna, having recovered from the dejection into which its innumerable defeats in the memorable campaigns of Italy had cast it, yielded once more to its inveterate hatred of the French Republic, and eagerly associated itself with the hostile politics of the English cabinet, by repulsing all the pacific overtures of Bonaparte. In this situation, the First Consul ordered the formation of an army of reserve, of sixty thousand men, at Dijon, and entrusted the command to Berthier, who was replaced in the post of minister of war by Carnot. But he did not delay going himself to take

the command of this host, of which he formed a new army of Italy.



Departing from Paris on the 6th May, he arrived on the 15th, at Mount St. Bernard, which he crossed in three days. On the 18th, Bonaparte wrote from his head-quarters at Martigny to the minister of the interior, announcing that this difficult passage was effected, and that the whole army would be on Italian ground by the 21st.

"Citizen minister," said he to him, "I am at the foot of the great Alps, in the centre of Valais.

"The Great St. Bernard offered many obstacles which have been surmounted with that heroic courage which distinguishes the French troops on all occasions. A third of the artillery is already in Italy; the army is descending rapidly; Berthier is in Piedmont; and in three days all will have passed."

Everything was accomplished with order and celerity, just as the First Consul had foreseen.

After having possessed themselves of the city of Aost, the army found its progress arrested by the fortress of Bard, looked upon as impregnable by reason of its position on the summit of a rock, and commanding a valley, which it was necessary to pass. In order to surmount this obstacle, a path was dug in the rock, out of the reach of the guns, which served as a passage both for infantry and cavalry; on a dark night, the wheels of the carriages and cannons were enveloped with straw, and the army succeeded in passing the fortress by crossing the little town of Bard, the streets of which had been littered with loose earth and dung, under the fire of a battery of twenty-two guns, which being discharged at random, did but little injury to the Republican soldiers.

Napoleon was among the last to cross, sometimes walking, and at others riding a sure-footed mule. His guide was a Swiss peasant, with whom he conversed freely, and in whose simple history he took so much interest that, on dismissing him at Chartreux, he presented him with some money, and a letter addressed to the superior of the convent of St. Maurice, where they had slept from the 16th till then, directing that he might be presented with some land and a cottage, which during the journey he had expressed a wish to be able to purchase. Many years afterwards this young man spoke of the First Consul as a man of stern aspect, with eyes which, notwithstanding his affability, impressed the beholder with awe on encountering them. All that he remembered of his

conversation, was that, shaking the wet from his hat after a shower, he exclaimed, " I have spoiled my hat among your mountains: never mind, I shall find a new one on the other side."

Early in June, the head-quarters were established in Milan, whence Bonaparte addressed the following proclamation to the army; after having determined the re-establishment of the cisalpine Republic:

" Soldiers,

" One of our departments had fallen into the power of the enemy, the whole of the north of France was in consternation; the greater part of the Ligurian territory, the most faithful ally of the Republic, was invaded.

" The cisalpine Republic, annihilated since the last campaign, had become the plaything of the grotesque feudal system. Soldiers, you have marched, and already the French territory is delivered; joy and hope succeed in the bosoms of our countrymen, to consternation and fear.



"You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa; they will be for ever delivered from their eternal enemies.

"You are in the cisalpine capital, the terrified enemy is only anxious to regain his own frontiers. You have taken from him his hospitals, magazines, and parks of reserve.

"The first act of the campaign is ended; every day you will hear millions of men express their gratitude towards you.

"But shall they thus with impunity violate the French territory; will you allow that army which has caused alarm in your families to return to its hearths? You will rush to arms?

"Well then, march in pursuit, oppose yourselves to its retreat, snatch from it the laurels of which it has taken possession, and thus teach the world that a curse hangs over the madmen who dare to insult the territory of the Great Nation.

"The result of all our efforts will be: Unclouded glory and lasting peace."

Unclouded glory had been long since acquired by the French army and its chief; but it was more difficult to obtain



a lasting peace. They were, however, on the eve of one of

those decisive battles, which compel the most obstinate enemies, for a time at least, to conceal their hostile dispositions. On the 9th June, Bonaparte passed the Po, and beat the Imperialists at Montebello, where one of his leaders, General Lannes, rendered his name famous. On the 14th, he again met the Imperial troops in the plains of Marengo, and gained one of the greatest victories over them, that ever graced the Republican arms. We will let the conqueror, himself, relate the events of this immortal day:

"After the battle of Montebello, the army set out to cross the Sierra. On the 24th, the vanguard, commanded by General Gardanne, met the enemy who defended the approaches of the Bormida, and the three bridges he had near Alessandria, overthrew him, took two pieces of cannon, and made a hundred prisoners.



"The division of General Chabran arrived at the same time on the banks of the Po, opposite Valence, to prevent the

enemy from passing this river. Thus Melas found himself enclosed between the Bormida and the Po. The only retreat which remained to him after the battle of Montebello, was intercepted; the enemy thus far seemed to have no projects and to be very uncertain in his movements.

"On the 25th, at day-break, the enemy crossed the Bormida by the three bridges, resolved to force a passage, surprised our vanguard, and vigorously commenced the celebrated battle of Marengo, which at length decided the fate of Italy and of the Austrian army.

"Four times during the battle, we retreated, and again advanced. More than sixty pieces of cannon on one side or the other, at different points and at different times, were taken and retaken. There were more than a dozen charges of cavalry, with various success.

"It was three o'clock in the afternoon. Ten thousand infantry flanked our right on the superb plain of St. Juliano; they were sustained by a line of cavalry, and plenty of artillery. The grenadiers of the guard were stationed like a redoubt of granite in the midst of this immense plain; nothing could shake it; cavalry, infantry, and artillery all were directed against this battalion, but in vain. Here was a proof of what a handful of brave men might effect.

"The left of the enemy was held in check by this obstinate resistance, and our right supported until the arrival of General Monnier, who carried the village of Castel-Cariolo at the point of the bayonet.

"The hostile cavalry then made a rapid movement on our left, which was already shaken. This motion hastened its retreat.

"The enemy advanced on the whole line, keeping up a running fire with more than a hundred pieces of cannon.

"The roads were crowded with fugitives, and with the wounded. The battle appeared to be lost. The enemy advanced to within musket-shot of the village of St.Juliano,



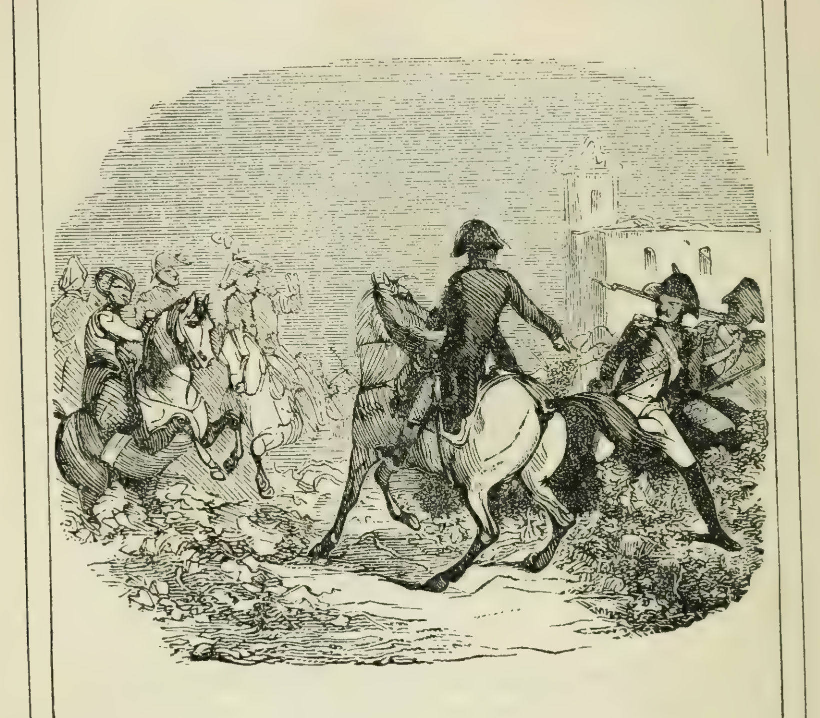
where the division of Desaix was posted in order of battle, with eight pieces of light artillery in advance, flanked by two strong battalions. All the fugitives rallied in the rear of these."

So certain was General Melas of the victory, that, leaving the pursuit to the General Zach, he now returned to Alessandria, to obtain some repose after the long and fatiguing exertions he had undergone, and which his great age, he was eighty-four, rendered necessary. The First Consul thus proceeds:

"The enemy already made several blunders, presaging his discomfiture, by extending his wings too much.

"The presence of the First Consul reanimated the courage of the troops.

"'Children,' he said to them, 'recollect that I am accustomed to sleep on the field of battle.'



"With cries of 'Live the Republic! Live the First Consul,' Desaix marched to the charge. In a moment the enemy was repulsed. General Kellerman, who, with his brigade of heavy cavalry, had, throughout the day, protected the retreat of our left, made a charge with such vigour, that six thousand grenadiers, with General Zach were made prisoners, and several other generals killed. The whole army followed up this movement. The right of the enemy finding itself cut off, consternation and dismay spread throughout their ranks.



"The Austrian cavalry had moved to the centre to protect the retreat. Bessières, chief of brigade, at the head of the grenadiers of the guard and some others, made a charge with so much skill and valour, that he broke the line of the enemy's cavalry, which completed the rout of the army.

"We have taken fifteen standards, forty pieces of cannon, and made from six to eight thousand prisoners; more than six thousand of the enemy were killed on the field of battle.

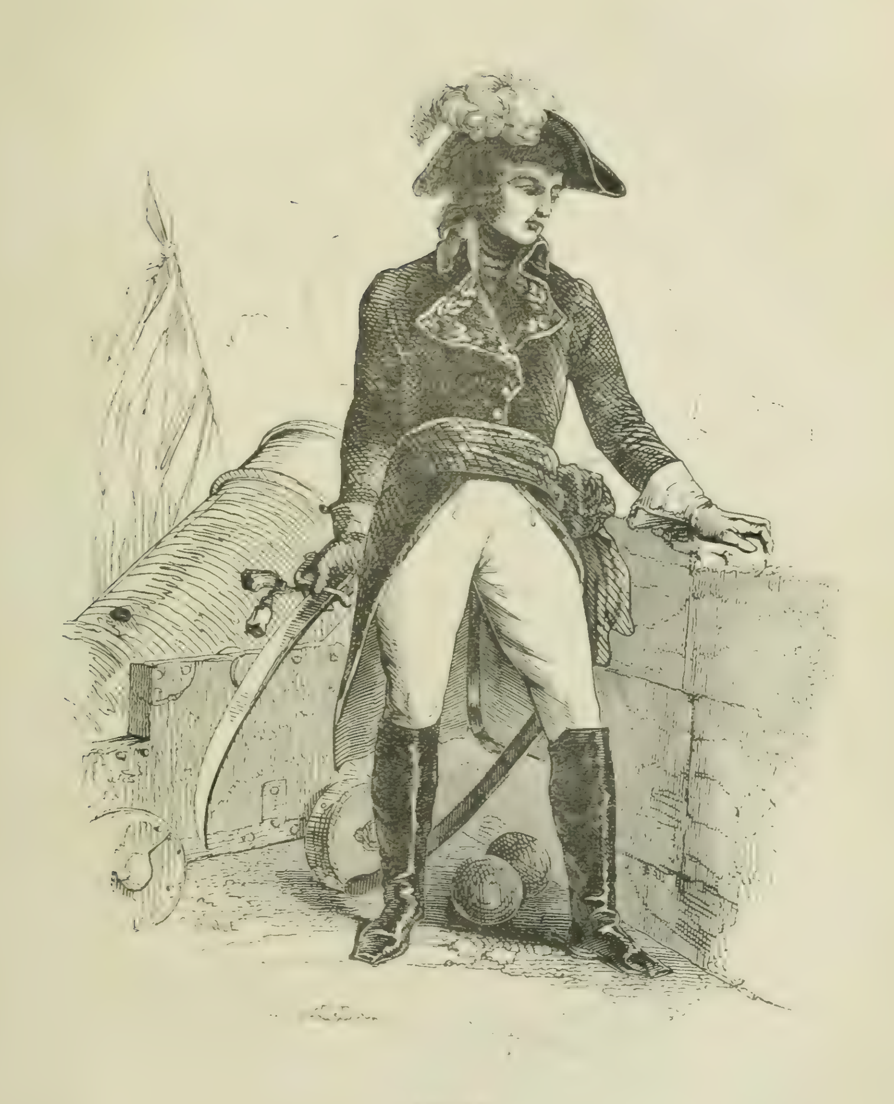
"The ninth regiment of light dragoons merits the title of incomparable. The heavy cavalry, and the 8th dragoons have covered themselves with glory. Our loss is also considerable; we have had six hundred men killed, fifteen hundred wounded and nine hundred taken prisoners.

"Generals Champaux, Marmont, and Boudet are wounded.

"The General-in-chief, Berthier, has had his clothes riddled with balls; several of his aides-de-camp have been dismounted. But a loss which is keenly felt by the army, and will be so by the whole Republic, damps all our rejoicing; Desaix was struck by a ball at the beginning of the charge of his division; he died immediately, and had only time to say to young Lebrun who was with him: 'Go and tell the First Consul that I die with regret at not having done sufficient to be remembered by posterity.'"



In the course of his life, General Desaix had had four horses killed under him, and received three wounds. He had only rejoined head-quarters three days before; he was burning



DESAIX.

for the fight, and said several times to his aides-de-camp on the preceding evening: "It is a long time since I fought in Europe, that the bullets have forgotten me; something will certainly happen." When the First Consul was informed of the death of Desaix, he was in the midst of the hottest of the firing, and exclaimed: "Why am I not permitted to weep for him." His body was conveyed to Milan to be embalmed there.

Two days afterwards, Bonaparte wrote the following letter to the consuls, dated from the head-quarters of Torre di Garafola

"Citizen consuls,

"The day after the battle of Marengo, General Melas demanded permission of the outposts to send General Skal to me. A treaty, of which you will find a copy annexed, was arranged during the day, and signed at night by General Berthier and General Melas. I trust the French nation will be satisfied with her army."

The battle of Marengo delivered Piedmont and Lombardy into the hands of France. The First Consul did not remain long in Italy. At Milan the people had received him with enthusiasm, and even the priests had joined in the general rejoicings. Bonaparte, to secure their support, spoke to them in these terms:

"Ministers of a religion which is the same as my own, I look upon you as my dearest friends, and declare that I will treat as disturbers of the public repose, and that I will punish as such in the most rigorous manner, and even if requisite, inflict death, on whoever shall offer the least insult to our common religion, or who shall commit the slightest outrage on your sacred persons.

"Modern philosophers," he added, "have exerted themselves to persuade France that the Catholic religion was the implacable enemy of all democratic systems, of all republican governments, hence that cruel persecution which the French

Republic exercised against the religion and its ministers; hence all the horrors to which this unfortunate people was exposed.... I am also a philosopher, and I know that no man in whatever position of life, will be able to pass for virtuous and just, unless he knows whence he came, and where he will go to. Reason alone cannot furnish us with any light on the subject; without religion, one walks constantly in darkness, and the Catholic religion is the only one which offers man certain and infallible elucidations as to his origin and his final ending...."

We must not attribute this language merely to the policy of an ambitious soldier. Although indifferent on religious matters, as his conduct at Cairo had clearly proved, Bonaparte was anything but irreligious. "My reason," said he, "makes me incredulous on many points; but the impressions of my childhood, and the inspirations of my early youth, again plunge me into uncertainty."

But he was particularly influenced by political necessity for religion. The *Memorial of St. Helena*, the *Memoirs of Napoleon*, Dr. O'Meara, Pelet de la Lozère and Thibaudeau affirm the same thing. "It is not," said he, "the mystery of incarnation that I perceive in religion, but the mystery of social order; it attaches to Heaven an idea of equality which prevents the rich being massacred by the poor...."—"We have seen republics, democracies, but never a state without religion, without worship, without priests."

It is then to this manner of treating religious questions, that we must chiefly attribute the reception given by Bonaparte to the priests of Milan, and the speech of which we have given the most remarkable passages. For the rest, Italy being reconquered in a few days, the First Consul hastened to return to France, after having appointed a committee to re-organize the cisalpine Republic, and re-established the university of Pavia. On the 26th June, he had the body of Desaix conveyed to Mount St. Bernard, and ordered a monument to be



erected in that place to the memory of this young hero. On the 29th, he arrived at Lyons, where he desired to celebrate his arrival by an act of reparation which secured him from henceforth the affection of this large and industrious city, where his name has not ceased to be held in the greatest veneration. The re-construction of some public buildings was decreed, and Bonaparte, himself, laid the first stone.

On the 3rd of July, that is to say, less than two months after his departure from Paris, he returned in triumph to the capital amidst the acclamations of immense crowds. His first care was to reward the bravery of his companions in arms. Already, at the opening of the campaign, and at the foot of Mount St. Bernard, he had named the intrepid Latour d'Auvergne, who refused all advancement, FIRST GRENADIER OF THE REPUBLIC. On his return, and after an expedition so rapid, crowned with so brilliant a victory, he considered he ought to make a great number of promotions, and distribute some marks of honour.

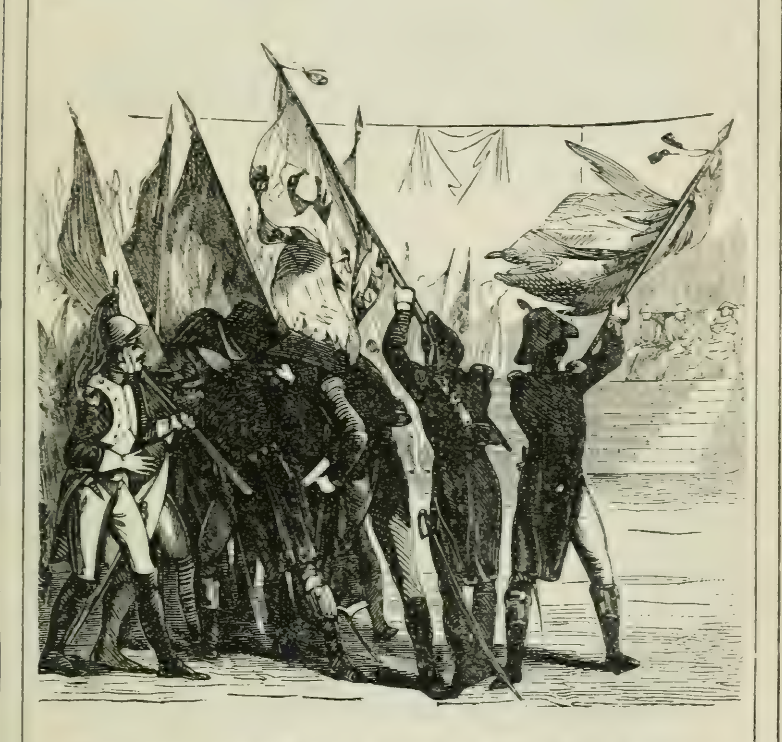
Whilst the First Consul retook in a few days, the finest

portion of Italy, Brune and Bernadotte, commanders-in-chief of the armies of the west, had pacified Brittany, and a festival to celebrate the union of the whole of France had been determined on. A decree of the consuls fixed the day for the 14th July, in order that the nation might commemorate at one and the same time, the return of concord and the birth of liberty; and that nothing might be wanting to this grand solemnity, the same day was fixed for laying the first stones of the columns in the departments, and of the national column; the former raised in the chief town of every department, and the latter at Paris, in the Place Vendôme, all to the glory of the brave men killed in the defence of the liberty of their country.

The Champ de Mars, which had received the deputies from all the national guards of France from the first anniversary of July to this memorable day of the federation, this civic festival which was endeavoured to be rendered religious, and where La Fayette represented the birth of patriotism, Talleyrand expiring faith; the Champ de Mars again beheld, after ten years of civil troubles, and foreign wars, the defenders of the revolution once more re-united in its vast area; not, on this occasion, to swear to conquer or to die, but to behold the deputies of the army solemnly attest that, the oaths of the deputies of the national guard had been gloriously fulfilled, and that modern France had conquered ancient Europe. Several officers, sent by the two armies of Italy and the Rhine, displayed before the consuls, the colours taken from the enemy, which they came to offer to the government as an homage to the country, to whom Bonaparte addressed this noble speech:

"The colours presented to the government before the people of this immense capital, attest the genius of the Generals-in-chief, Moreau, Massena and Berthier; the military talents of the generals, their lieutenants, and the bravery of the French soldiers. Tell the troops, on your return to the camp, that on the epoch of the 1st Vendemiaire, when we shall celebrate the

anniversary of the Republic, the French nation expects, either the announcement of peace, or if the enemy places invincible obstacles in the way of it; fresh colours, the fruits of further victories."

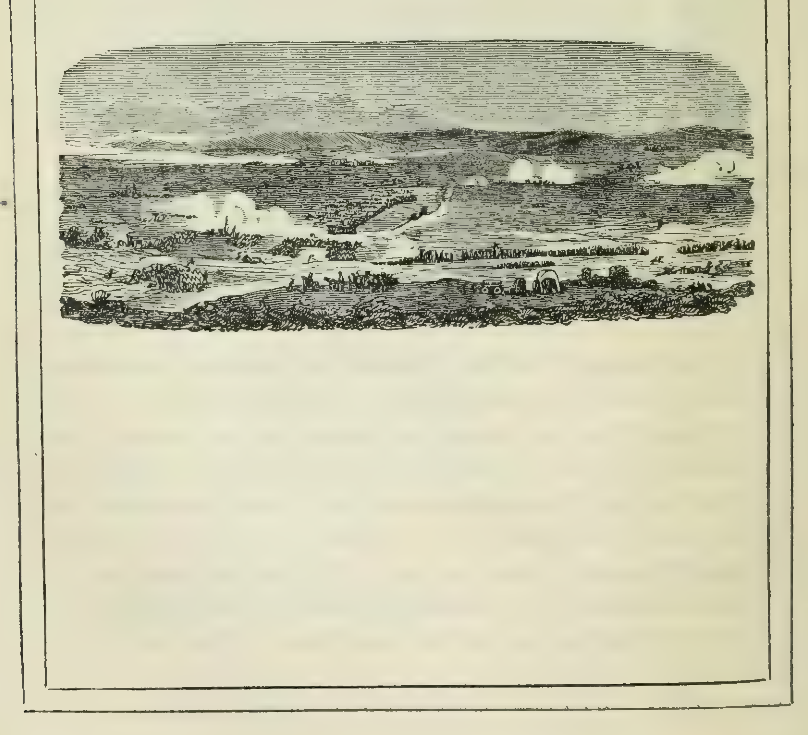


One feature is worthy of remark in this short harangue: Bonaparte forced to omit himself in the distribution of favours which he heaped on the military leaders, and on the army, and who knew, moreover, that this imperative neglect of himself would be more than compensated for by the approbation of the people. Bonaparte strove to render those of the generals most prominent, whom he knew still cherished some rivalry towards him, for which reason he placed Moreau and Massena before Berthier, his confident and friend. This was a most

skilful method of warding off all suspicion of jealousy towards these illustrious warriors, and also of evincing that he could not seriously look upon them as rivals. True genius cannot more clearly display the knowledge it has of its own superiority, than by appearing to occupy itself exclusively with putting forward the claims of others.

This memorable day was ended by a banquet which the First Consul gave to the principal authorities of the Republic, and at which he proposed the following toast:

"TO THE 14th JULY, AND OUR SOVEREIGN, THE FRENCH NATION.





CHAPTER XII.

Organization of the Council of State. Congress of Luneville. Festival of the foundation of the Republic. Royalist conspiracy. Infernal machine.



ITTLE time had elapsed after the celebration of the 14th July, before the preliminaries of peace between France and Austria had been signed by the First Consul, and which justified the pacific disposition which he had manifested towards the deputies sent to Paris by the armies of Germany and Italy.

One month after, Bonaparte employed himself in organizing the council of state, and in appointing the members. On the 3rd September, he concluded a treaty of amity and commerce between France and the United States; and on the 20th of the same month, on the refusal of the Emperor to sign the preliminaries of peace, he called another congress at Luneville, where General Clarke represented the Republic.

The festival of the 1st Vendemiaire was not less pompous than that of the 14th July. Deputies from all the departments assisted at it. This day was fixed upon for laying the first stone of the national monument to be erected in the *Place de la Victoire*, to the memory of Desaix and Kleber, who both fell on the same day; the one at Marengo by the fire of the enemy; the other at Cairo by the poniard of an assassin. De Bourrienne observes: "Thus were taken from



their country, on the same day, almost within the same hour, two of the most illustrious generals of the French army.

"The house of Elfi-Bey, which Bonaparte inhabited at Cairo, and subsequently his successor in the command, had a terrace leading from the salon to a ruinous cistern, whence a flight of steps conducted to the garden on one side, while on the other was the public square. When we were in Egypt,



KLEBER.

this was the favourite promenade of the Commander-in-chief, to whom I had often represented the propriety of filling up the cistern, and making it level with the terrace. My precautions were not adopted, and Soleyman Haleby, the assassin of Kleber, profited by the neglect. Hiding himself in the cistern, he stole behind the general, and stabbed him mortally in the groin.

"This sad news reached Bonaparte some time after our return to Paris. Deprived for a long time of information from Egypt, he expected despatches with much anxiety. When a courier from the East at length arrived, it was past two o'clock in the morning. In his eagerness, the First Consul waited not to awake any one, in order to call me. He came up himself, and as there were two doors, he knocked twice at my secretary's, who slept in one of the three chambers composing my small suite. The secretary rose and opened. On seeing a man with a taper in his hand, a drab coloured great-coat, and a night-cap on his head, the reader may conceive the secretary's surprise. "Where is Bourrienne?"—"Good God, General, is it you?"—"Where is Bourrienne?" The secretary, still in his shirt, then shewed my door to the First Consul; who, after expressing his regret for having disturbed the secretary, came into my room. I dressed in haste, and we descended, having rung several times before any one opened; for the housekeeper, though not asleep, was afraid to open, apprehensive of robbers from the comings and goings she had heard. At length we were admitted, and the First Consul laid upon the table the voluminous despatches he had just received. They were labelled, and had been steeped in vinegar. On hearing the death of Kleber announced, Bonaparte displayed in his whole manner the greatest uneasiness; an expression which silently but eloquently spoke his fears "Egypt is lost!"

"I stop not to rebut here the atrocious calumnies which had been published respecting Kleber's death? By that unlooked

for event, Bonaparte was most deeply affected; the knowledge which he had of Kleber's capacity; the command of the army confided to him; the succours which by every means he essayed to send him, repel not only the horrible suspicion of the slightest participation in that crime, but even the thought that he viewed with pleasure, or even desired, the destruction of Kleber. Doubtless there existed between Bonaparte and Kleber an aversion as obvious, as the friendship between the former and Desaix was apparent. The fame of Kleber annoyed him; he had the weakness to be somewhat jealous of his reputation; he knew also the manner in which Kleber spoke of his plans; for the latter took no care to conceal his sentiments. During the long and bloody siege of Acre, he would say to me, "Your little scoundrel, Bonaparte, who is no taller than my boot, will enslave France. See what a cursed expedition he has led us into." I give it not for certain that such remarks, often repeated to others, were reported to Bonaparte, but there were those who sought advancement by informing, and would not spare Kleber. A frank republican, he had divined and feared the projects of Bonaparte against liberty. But with all this—and a fault-finder by disposition—as a soldier, duty was ever paramount. He grumbled, swore, stormed; but marched bravely amid the hottest fire. He was courage personified. One day, while in the trenches at Acre, standing upright, and by his great height, exposed to every shot, Bonaparte cried out, "Stoop now, can't you, Kleber."—"Eh!" was the surly reply, "d— your bit of a ditch, it is not knee deep." He never regarded the Egyptian expedition with a favourable eye, looking upon it as too expensive and useless to France. In short, cold, discriminating, and reflecting, Kleber judged Bonaparte without enthusiasm, a rare thing in those days, and consequently pardoned not a single fault. On the other hand, Bonaparte, ever animated by the desire of retaining Egypt, whose preservation alone could justify its conquest, allowed Kleber to talk, for Kleber acted. He knew that

duty, and the virtues of the soldier, would always prove too powerful for personal prejudice or opposition. Thus, the death of his lieutenant, far from awakening the least feeling of satisfaction, afflicted him the more, that it destroyed almost entirely the hope of preserving to France an acquisition so dearly purchased, and which was his own work."

The conveying of the ashes of the famous Turenne to the temple of Mars, by order of the consuls, also added great importance to the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. The minister of war, Carnot, made a speech on this occasion, and no mouth was fitter than his to eulogize the immortal warrior, whose remains were thus honoured by France. It was the military science, the modest genius, the public and private virtues of the great captain of the monarchy, celebrated by the great citizen of the Republic, who, like Turenne had devoted to the service of his country, both his high morality, and his profound knowledge of the art of war. Carnot did not fail to associate with the names of Desaix and Kleber, that of the brave and learned Latour d'Auvergne, who had just been killed in Germany. It was a glorious day for every Frenchman, proud of this title, thus to see his grateful country blending in one common apotheosis, her illustrious children of all ages and of all systems, under the auspices of a government, having Carnot for its minister, and Bonaparte for its chief.

The inauguration of Prytanée, at St. Cyr, still further marked the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the Republican era.

However, in spite of the civic festivals, and despite the efforts of the Consul not to give the alarm to certain patriots suspecting his disinterestedness, the manner in which he had possessed himself of power, and the dispositions which he had since shewn, too well announced his impatience to put an end to the Republican institutions, not to raise among the veterans and adepts of the Republican party who were highly incensed,

several fanatics, capable of conceiving and executing the assassination of a man, who in their eyes was neither more nor less than an usurper and a tyrant. The ex-deputy Arena, the sculptor Cerachi, Topino Lebrun, a pupil of David, and Damerville were of the number. A wretch, named Harrel, heightened their hatred of Bonaparte, and induced them to enter into a plot against the First Consul, which he immediately revealed to the police. Such was the security Bonaparte felt, with respect to the authors of this scheme, that he did not hesitate to be present at the opera, where the conspirators had resolved to attack him.

The obstinate partisans of the Bourbons, on their side, who had for a moment flattered themselves that they had met with a Monk in Bonaparte, but who could no longer buoy themselves up with this mad hope, began also to conspire against him. Foreign machinations, and emigration increased, and the infernal machine was fired. This was on the 3rd Nivose (25th December); the First Consul was on his way to the opera, where Haydn's *Creation* was to be presented for the first time. He was accompanied by Lannes, Berthier, and Lauriston. Passing through the *Rue St. Nicaise,* he was startled by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder which had been placed on a truck. Ten seconds later, and it had been all over with Bonaparte and his suite. Fortunately the coachman, who was drunk, had urged his horses on quicker than usual, and it was this extra speed, owing to so singular an accident, which preserved this man, whose tragical end would have changed the approaching destinies of France and Europe. "We are undermined," exclaimed the First Consul. Lannes and Berthier insisted upon returning to the Tuileries. "No, no," said Bonaparte, "to the opera." And he actually appeared there, placing himself in front of the box, where he appeared with a brow as serene and calm, as if the most perfect tranquility reigned in his bosom. It was, however, quite the reverse. After devoting some minutes to this



Conspiracy.—Infernal Machine.

public demonstration, he was carried away by the violence of his impressions, and hastened to the Tuileries, where all the leading characters of the time had hastened to learn what had happened, and what the result was likely to be. Scarcely had he arrived among them, than Bonaparte gave the rein to his impetuous nature, and exclaimed in a loud voice: "This is the work of Jacobins; it is the Jacobins who have tried to assassinate me. There are neither nobles nor priests, nor any others engaged in it. I have reasons for this opinion, and nothing shall make me change it. It proceeds from a pack of rogues and dirty vagabonds, who are in open revolt, who are engaged in a permanent conspiracy, in constant opposition to all the governments which have succeeded each other. They are artists and painters *, who have ardent imaginations, a little more education than the mob, and exercise some influence over them. They are the assassins of Versailles, the brigands of the 21st May, the conspirators of the Prairial, the authors of all the crimes committed against the different governments. If they cannot be fettered they must be crushed; France must be purged of this disgusting rabble. Such rascals shall have no mercy!"

These words, in which so much just indignation was displayed, were repeated in a reply of the First Consul to a deputation from the department of the Seine; but what is most to be deplored, is, that they were followed by the punishment of the victims which the atrocious Harrel had delivered to the police, and by the transportation of a hundred and thirty citizens, the perseverance and ardour of whose patriotism had rendered them suspected. Fouché, the minister of police, who had to excuse himself for not having foreseen and prevented the murderous attempts, evinced himself one of the most eager to punish the pretended culprits; and easily

* Alluding to Cerachi and Topino-Lebrun, the one a sculptor, the other a painter.

obtained the sanction of the First Consul for the measures which he proposed, and for a long time afterwards, excited and improved his suspicions against the Republicans. By a combination which nothing can justify, they were not content with merely proscribing a mass of innocent people, but also endeavoured to expose them to contempt and opprobium, by monstrously associating the honourable names of Talot, Destrem, Lepelletier, St. Fargean, etc., with those of various obscure actors in the reign of terror, to whom they affected to apply the epithet of *septembriseurs*, in crder to render the disgrace more overwhelming for those irreproachable Republicans, whom it was endeavoured to dishonour and transport at the same time. A month after, it was discovered that the crime emanated from the royalists; two emissaries of *chouannerie*, Carbon and St. Regent, convicted of being the authors of the diabolical attempt, were condemned to death and executed; but this punishment of the two culprits could not revoke the measure which the government had taken *ab irato* against the innocent democrats, who on their passage to Nantes, had fallen victims to the public indignation.





CHAPTER XIII.

Special Tribunals. Public Works. Treaty of Luneville. Impulse given to science and industry. Treaty of Peace with Spain, Naples, and Parma. The Concordat. Peace of Amiens. *Te Deum* in *Notre Dame*.



LETTING no opportunity escape for consolidating his power, the First Consul took advantage of the circumstance of the infernal machine to institute *Special Tribunals* which became soon the instruments of the absolute power which the First Consul in reality exercised over France. These institutions were succeeded by another, intended to give Napoleon the power to banish from Paris or from France, all persons who might be looked upon as public enemies, though innocent of any absolute crime. This formidable project encountered in the Tribunate, the courageous opposition of Benjamin Constant, Daunou, Ginguené, Chénier, Isnard, etc. Three or four

generous voices, those of Lambrechts, Garat, and Lenoir Laroche also made themselves heard in the senate. But the defenders of liberty were in a very great minority, and the wishes of the Consul were easily converted into legislative enactments.

In addition to these re-actionary measures, every day brought forth evidence of the genius which was to raise the power and glory of France to so great a height; canals and harbours sprang forth on all sides; the fine arts acquired fresh splendour; scientific discoveries were encouraged; commerce and industry flowed in channels until then unknown.

On the 17th January, 1801, the re-establishment of the company of Africa was ordered, and the First Consul, transporting his thoughts from the Atlas to the Alps, and embracing in his vast solicitude, the interests of civilisation, among polished nations as well as among barbarians, appointed by a decree of the same day, General Turreau to preside at the construction of the splendid road across the Simplon.

On the 9th February, the continental peace was signed at Luneville. Bonaparte took this opportunity of accusing the English cabinet of being the sole obstacle to the general pacification. "Why," he said to the legislative body and the tribunate, "why should not this be a treaty for an universal peace? It was the wish of France; it was the constant object of the efforts of the government; but all its exertions have been in vain. All Europe knows how the Britannic ministry strove to stifle the negociations at Luneville." Afterwards in replying to the congratulations addressed to him by the legislation, he gave some hint of his gigantic conception of the continental blockade. "All the powers of the continent," said he, "will unite to make England keep within the bounds of moderation, equity and reason."

The Consul, thus congratulated himself on the restoration of internal peace which had preceded outward pacification, evinced his satisfaction with the concord and unity, which he

had observed in the provinces he had just visited, and added: "Here we may see how little importance is to be attached to the inconsiderate harangues of certain men." This was an allusion to the bold speeches uttered in the tribunate on the occasion of *Special* Tribunals. Henceforth this body was regarded as the last refuge of Republicanism, and it was determined to crush it, first by election, and eventually by complete suppression.

The treaty of Luneville chiefly concluded with the court of Vienna, was followed by separate ones with Naples, Madrid, and Parma. It was about the same time that Bonaparte formed the departments of Roêr, the Sarre, the Rhine and Moselle, and Mont Tonnere; and as the aggrandizement and pacification of the Republic must necessarily lead to its actual prosperity, the Consul published a law authorizing the establishment of marts of trade, and ordained that every year, from the 17th to the 22nd September, there should be a public exhibition of the productions of French industry.

Being now unoccupied with the continental powers, Bonaparte began to turn his thoughts towards England; but the assassination of the czar, Paul I., on whose personal friendship towards himself, Bonaparte had founded the greatest hopes, disarranged his plans. As soon as he was informed of this event, he displayed the greatest affliction, and had the following passage inserted in the *Moniteur:*

"Paul I. died in the night between the 23rd and 24th March. The English squadron passed the Sound on the 30th. History will enlighten us as to the relation which may exist between these two events."

This was the second time that Bonaparte had seen the vast designs which he had conceived for ruining the British power in the Indies, defeated by accidents.

However, the First Consul was not satisfied with having conquered Europe, pacified France, re-animated commerce and industry, and opened a fresh field for the arts and sciences.

In the midst of his immense and glorious labours, and his great creations, he felt that his plan of re-organisation was incomplete, and that something more was wanting to his edifice: a place for religion. Doubtless, thus far he had neither despised nor disdained it; but there was nothing certain about it, either in the treaties or in the laws; and although the clergy may have had its share in his consular favours, its novel position, however advantageous Bonaparte might have rendered it, was not the less precarious. In order to establish it on a legal basis, the First Consul entered into negociations with Rome, and arranged for a Concordat with Pius VII. The philosophers about him, who had agreed to the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, because it had given stability to their suddenly acquired fortunes, now exclaimed loudly against this religous reaction. They wished Bonaparte to proclaim himself the head of the Gallican church, and completely separate himself from all allegiance to the Holy See. But the First Consul was too well acquainted with the importance of the religion of the majority, and the danger of wounding the great bulk of the nation on so delicate a subject.

Already, during the course of the Revolution, and under the reign of the Directory, the void which is created in a state by the absence of religion, had been observed by several persons, who had vainly essayed to re-establish it, some by festivals in honour of the Supreme Being, and others by equally unpromising methods. Robespierre has observed: "Whoever could replace divinity in the system of the universe, would be, in my estimation, a prodigy of genius; but he, who, without having replaced it, strives to expel it from the mind of man, is neither more nor less than a prodigy of stupidity or perversity."

Some years later, one of the most elevated and profound minds of the emigration party, de Maistre, deploring the relaxation of social ties, the enfeebled state of moral principles, the instability of sovereignties without a firm basis, attributed

the universal disorder to a cessation of faith, and declares that at sight of so affecting a spectacle, all true philosophy must choose between one or the other of these two hypotheses, "either that Christianity would be regenerated by some extraordinary means, or that a new religion would arise."

Bonaparte, it must be confessed, despite the usual sublimity of his genius, did not see the pressing alternative, which the Catholic writer had laid down for all true philosophy. In his eyes, religious observances, so different among nations, were little more than superstitions consecrated by time, imaginations implanted during the infancy of the people, all opposed by reason, the progress of which had been thereby hindered, and which imposed especial restraint on the statesman. He said of Christianity itself, which, however, he acknowledged as the true religion, that "knowledge and history were its greatest enemies."

This was in fact judging the divine collossus which for fifteen centuries had been the depositary of science, and the preceptor of the human mind, not by the magnificent picture of its civilizing influence at the epoch of its grandeur, but by the sorrowful spectacle of its debates with science and reason at the period of its decay. In thus opposing knowledge and history to Christianity, without distinction of time and place, Bonaparte forgot the narrow connection existing between religion and science, between religion and politics, in the birth of modern societies, in the struggle of Christian belief and chivalric manners against the disgusting traditions of the pagan world, and the gross superstitions of idolatrous nations, nevertheless an incontestible alliance, and which signalizes the names of Paul Clement, Augustin, Jerome, Bernard, as well as those of Hildebrand, Charlemagne and Alfred.

Doubtless, the intelligent mind of Bonaparte must have slumbered, as sometimes did the genius of Homer, when advancing as a permanent fact the actual opposition of the Christian dogmas, and philosophical doctrines, he denied, not

only the undoubted concurrence of the religious element in the developement of reason, and the political perfectioning of human societies in the past, but the perfectibility even of the mind in religious matters ; which he expressed after this vulgar fashion, that "every one ought to remain in the religion in which he had been brought up, in the religion of his fathers (O'Meara); and that for his part, he did not wish to see anybody establish a new one (Pelet de la Lozère)."

If Bonaparte had reflected on the social influences of religion on future generations, he would, perhaps, have considered that this religion, after three centuries of protestations, and philosophical doubts, after Bacon and Descartes, after Voltaire and Rousseau, could no longer be that which it had been in the middle ages, and he might have added to his mission of conquering legislator and political revolutionist, that of religious reformer. He would then have comprehended the necessity for the option laid down by De Maistre for philosophers, and conveying to the domain of religion, the active solicitude and fertility of his genius, he would have favoured or provoked the regeneration of Christianity; given rise to a new faith, accordingly as he might have decided for one or the other ot those two hypotheses; have chosen the path, which the illustrious Lamennais entered upon later; or that which several innovators have attempted to strike out, whose boldness has been deemed worthy of being immortalized by the greatest poets of France, Béranger and Lamartine.

But Bonaparte, a mere deist, and bounding his personal religion to an abstract belief, saw, as a philosopher, in any positive religion, nothing but the eternal enemies of reason and science, and as a statesman, nothing but a method of governing the people, or of embarrassing power, according to the nature of its relation with governments. Setting aside this, and finding the majority of the French nation attached to Catholicism, by the same consideration which made him remark, that every one ought to live and die in the religion of

his fathers, it was natural that he should occupy himself with arranging with the Holy See the interests of the Catholic faith, that he should affect to wish to restore to the Church and the episcopacy their ancient splendour, and that he should agree to conceal his private opinions, his indifference and incredulity, under the pompous demonstration of an official faith. Thus braving the sarcasms of his Voltairian court, he ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in Notre Dame, on the occasion of the



Concordat, and the peace with England, which had just been signed at Amiens. All the distinguished persons of the time assisted at this religious festival. When Lannes and Augereau,

who made part of the suite of the Consuls, knew that they were being conducted to hear mass, they wished to withdraw; Bonaparte ordered them to remain, and amused himself, next day, by maliciously asking Augereau how he had liked the ceremony. But the intrepid soldier of Arcola and Lodi returned his pleasantry: "Very much," replied he; "there were only wanting about a million of men, who devoted themselves to death, to destroy that which we are re-establishing."

There was some exaggeration in this bitter reply. The million of men had not devoted themselves to death to destroy religion, but to prevent the return of the abuses of religion, the return of tithes, of immunities, of ecclesiastical privileges; and nothing of all these was re-established by the Concordat. Doubtless, the Revolution had for a moment seemed about to attack religion itself, to pursue the complete abolition of Christian faiths, and substitute for them, the faith of reason; but it was precisely this recollection which it was requisite to efface. Its destiny was not to displace oppression and arbitrary rule alone, not merely to ensure the triumph of one party over the other, to enfranchise slaves in order that they might subject their masters, to furnish philosophy with the opportunity for odious reprisals against religious intolerance; far from this; it could only definitively triumph, by proving that its cause was that of all society; that the novel rights which it had created, protected all the members of the state, without distinction of class, opinion, or belief, and that it retained beneath its banners, the power of guarding all those superstitions which might still be the object of popular respect, as well as all those interests, material or moral, which were no longer hostile to it. The more rigorous and implacable it had been against the priests, when it was in contemplation to deprive them of the rich portion, which the *ancien régime* had devoted to them in the social privileges, the more requisite did it become for it to shew that its rigours applied only to the monstrous inequalities established in favour of the clergy, and

to the active hostility of the dispossessed holders of these privileges against the new order of things; for, if this obstinate hostility had caused the temples to be closed, provoked the orgies of the apostles of reason, and during the struggle, changed the churches into clubs, it was indispensable that the now victorious Revolution should express in a striking manner, on the return of peace and concord, that it had only accidentally and from necessity become the enemy of priesthood and faith, and that there was no difference between its religion and that of the majority; and that, far from professing atheism, of which it had been accused by the vulgar, it was disposed not only to tolerate, but to practise the existing faith, as long as it should remain unreplaced by any fresh creed in the bosom of the people, who require something more nourishing than scepticism for religious aliment. It was this solemn and necessary manifestation which the Revolution made in treating with Rome, in publishing the Concordat, and in attending mass with great pomp, in the person of the most glorious of its children, the most illustrious of its interpreters. If the party of counter-revolution rejoiced at this as a token of the success of its cause, it was guilty of a great error. When Henry IV. found that Paris was worth "a mass," and consented to make a public profession of Catholicism, this concession, in depriving his enemies of the most dangerous weapon they could employ against him, ended by ruining the party of the League.

"The Concordat of 1801," says Napoleon in his Memoirs, "was necessary to the religion, to the Republic, and to the government .... It put a stop to disorder, dispelled all the scruples of the acquirers of the national wealth, and severed the last thread by which the ancient dynasty still communicated with the country...." In one of the conferences which preceded this act, the following expressions escaped him: "If the Pope had not existed, it would have been requisite to have created one for this occasion, as the Roman Consuls appointed a dictator in difficult circumstances."

Reconciled with the Pope, Bonaparte now gave a new pledge for the duration of this alliance, by founding kingdoms on the Italian soil, which he had formerly wished to portion out into Republics. Tuscany became a little monarchy, in favour of an Infant of Parma, whose estates had been taken from him, in order to reunite them with Lombardy. This prince, possessed of the title of King of Etruria, visited the capital of France under the name of Count of Livonia. He was received with the most brilliant festivals, where the elegance and manners of the ancient aristocracy re-appeared. All the magnificence of this reception, could not conceal the insignificance of the individual who was the object of it; and when persons expressed their surprise to Bonaparte, at the elevation of so poor a man to supreme power, he replied: "Policy required it; and besides, there can be no harm in letting young people, who have never beheld kings, see how they are made."

But if the First Consul exhibited by a pompous hospitality, the contempt with which the royal personage whom he had just set over Etruria, inspired him, on the other hand, he evinced less pomp and etiquette, and more real eagerness, in the reception which he gave to a new guest from the banks of the Thames.



This was not a princely nonentity, hiding beneath the insignia of rank and the luxuries of courts, the poverty of his mind,

and the miseries of his soul; this was a high intelligence in a noble character, a perfectly superior man, with whom, says Napoleon, "The heart warmed the genius, whilst, in Pitt, the genius withered the heart." This was Fox!

Bonaparte lavished the most striking marks of his affection and esteem on the illustrious Englishman. "I received him often," he says in the Memorial; "fame had informed me of his talents; I soon discovered in him a noble soul, a good heart, generous, liberal and enlightened views, and that he was an ornament to mankind. I loved him. We often chatted without prejudice, and on various subjects.... Fox is a model for statesmen, and sooner or later, his principles will govern the world."

The sympathy which the First Consul manifested for Fox, was generally shared throughout France. "He was triumphantly received in all the towns through which he passed. *Fêtes* were universally offered to him, and the greatest honours rendered in every place where he was recognized." (O'Meara.)

The French Revolution owed no less to its persevering friend, and thirty-seven years later, was largely repaid for its brilliant hospitality towards Fox, by the reception which the English nation gave a soldier of Napoleon, and veteran of the Republic. It was because the school of Fox and Mackintosh, so popular in France in 1801, had, in 1838, become equally so in England.





CHAPTER XIV.

From the treaty of Amiens (25th March, 1802), to the rupture of France with England (22nd May, 1803).



"LITTLE had been done," according to Burke, "towards filling up the void produced by the French Revolution, in the old European system. Extending itself on the contrary, on the north and east, by our conquests in Germany and Italy, it was sufficient, more than ever, to startle the foreign cabinets. But the exhaustion of finances, the weakness of the different nations, the necessity for repairing the disasters of so many lost battles, and so many unfortunate campaigns, the fear of fresh reverses, and also a kind of superstitious belief in the fortune of the Republic and its chief, all of which had made Europe give way before the irresistible ascendance of revolutionary France, and now the free people, which, so long assailed by enslaved nations, who regarded them as impious reprobates and regicides, had succeeded in reconciling themselves with Popery and Royalty, without retracting any of their

principles or acts against the Pope, and the sovereigns of Europe."

How admirable was the position of the French Republic. After having for ten years heroically borne the weight, often overwhelming, of a long war, in order to escape from aristocratical domination, it at length beheld itself at the summit of power, enjoying, proudly and tranquilly, the benefits of equality, and able to astonish the world by the wonders executed during peace, as it had formerly surprised by its prodigies in war. If its armies were composed of the bravest soldiers and the best captains of the age, its administrations, also reckoned in their bosom, all the men of note, who had appeared on the stage of public affairs; its assemblies consisted of the flower of European orators; its Institute stood unequalled among academic bodies; its literary men, its poets, its painters, its sculptors, held the sceptre in the domain of arts; its commerce and industry, facilitated by roads, extending hundreds of miles, by bridges and innumerable canals, came to display their riches in the Louvre, as if to make the barren pomp of the ancient monarchy, turn pale before the fertile luxury of modern France; in order that the youth might be brought up in a manner worthy of this great epoch, schools were opened for every stage of instruction, and funds were not wanting in the public treasure to enable them to enter the Lyceums; its museums and libraries were enriched by the fruit of its conquests, and victory had brought to Paris, the Venus de Medicis, and the Pallas of Velletri. Its name, in a word, feared by kings, was an object of admiration and respect for all nations. Thus military, political and literary glory, the triumph of civilisation by arms, science, the arts, and industry: perfect tranquillity within, universal peace without, and with all this, BONAPARTE for its first magistrate! .... Such was the position of the French Republic after the peace of Amiens!

Nothing, therefore, was wanting to the grandeur and prosperity of France. But this flourishing state, the envy of

Europe, had in its very constitution inevitable chances of instability. All the world was convinced that the victories, the pacification, the power and splendour of the Republic, were, in a great measure, the work of the extraordinary man, whom Providence had sent to the assistance of the Revolution, and everybody thought also, that the duration and preservation of this splendour and power, actually reposed, and would still repose for a long time on the genius of which they were the work. Was it fitting that this creative and conservative genius should be liable to be cast from the summit of the state, and despoiled of his providential mission, by the game of constitutional mechanism, and by the intervention of cabal and intrigue? Was it reasonable to suppose, that, the first, by services, by glory, by intelligence, by wishes, by all the



faculties of the warrior and the statesman, could be placed in a secondary rank by a legal necessity? The senate thought

they had done sufficient, when, on the proposition of the Tribunate, which demanded a striking pledge of the national gratitude for the First Consul, it had named Bonaparte Consul for ten years. But this prolongation, did not the less leave the supreme magistracy with a temporary character, and consequently had only the effect of adjourning the inconveniences and dangers, which it was designed to prevent, and to put off indefinitely. A man like Bonaparte, with the position which he had made France take up, and with that which France had made him occupy himself, could no more, after ten than after five years, again become a mere citizen, or even descend to a secondary position in the state. Nothing but his separation from France, by exile or death, could prevent him remaining the first in the Republic. Himself and the French nation comprehended this; for when disdaining the vote by which the senate had decreed him the consulship for ten years, he appealed to the citizens and put this question: "Shall Bonaparte be Consul for life?" the people ran in crowds to vote, and responded by more than three million of voices: "Yes!"

The senate, to remove as much as possible the impression likely to be caused by its ill-timed reserve, hastened to proclaim the will of the people, and even ventured to add to it, a new prerogative for the First Consul, that of choosing his successor. Bonaparte replied to the deputation from this body:

"Senators,

"The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The French people wish that mine should be devoted to them. I obey their will.

"In giving me a new pledge, a permanent pledge of their confidence, they impose upon me the duty of propping the system of their laws by provident institutions.

"By my efforts, by your concurrence, by the concurrence of all the authorities, by the confidence and wishes of this great people, liberty, equality, and the prosperity of France,

shall be sheltered from the caprices of chance, and the uncertainty of the future. The best of nations will be the happiest, as it is the most worthy of being, and its felicity will contribute to that of all Europe.

"Then satisfied with having been called by His fiat from whom all emanates, to restore justice, order, and equality to earth, I shall hear my last hour strike, without regret, and without inquietude as to the opinion of future generations."

The opinion of contemporary generations was for him indeed, a striking pledge and a precursory sign of the apotheosis reserved for him by posterity. However, the popular wish, which had ensured for him the enjoyment for life of the supreme magistracy, met with some isolated protestations, which had only the effect of displaying several noble characters, without injuring the universality and the necessity of the national voting. It could scarcely be otherwise. The consulate for life seemed to attach the destinies of the Republic to the destinies of one man ; and constituted a species of monarchy for life, which placed the Republic on the confines of hereditary monarchy: how could the gloomy susceptibilities, the systematic mistrusts, the persevering convictions of the divers Liberal schools which had arisen since 1789, have suddenly disappeared, to make way, with an appearance of unanimous approbation, for that which was essentially their antipathy ? But one might then have thought, that France, in investing Bonaparte with an immense power, did not yield to the sway of circumstances, alone, and that instead of making merely a provisory act of wisdom and necessity by the installation of a dictator, she knew how to act so as to give herself a definitive constitution, and renounce in favour of her future leaders, all the doctrines which she had invoked and defended so gloriously against her old masters. It was requisite, that the Revolution, in exalting Bonaparte as the most glorious and the most faithful representative of its present interests, and fresh exigences, should not deny itself in regard to its former represen-

tatives, and that, on the contrary, it should incite some of the veterans of the national assemblies to justify their great work, and reclaim something for the abstract rights of the people, from the temporary infatuation of the nation. The consulate had not only saved and improved the Revolution: before it, this double task had been wonderfully fulfilled by the Constituent Assembly and the Convention. It was therefore the duty of the Convention and the Constituent Assembly, to find organs to protest in their name against influencing the public mind in favour of absolute power, and to prevent the liberal maxims proclaimed in 1789, the amplification of which had been decreed by an act of the Committee of Public Welfare in 1793, being cast into oblivion, and the very prescription lost. The Constituent Assembly reappeared in La Fayette, to grant but a partial suffrage on the consulship for life; whilst the shadow of the Convention gave an absolute negative by the mouth of Carnot.

The opposition of La Fayette had been foreseen by the First Consul, who, in several conversations which he had had with the prisoner of Olmutz, since his return to France, had never been able to prevail upon him to accept the dignity of senator. If Bonaparte had known La Fayette better, he might have saved himself the trouble. Now only was La Fayette the same as in 1789, but as is well known, he always remained the same, whether in France, Europe, or America. Filled with the importance of the parts he had so nobly filled by the side of Washington and Mirabeau, he had made himself a political personage of the first order, the strict preservation of which incessantly occupied him, and prevented him feeling disposed to play a secondary character in connection with whomsoever might appear. His ambition, also, was to represent a certain epoch, to be the expression of an idea, the living standard of the patriots of 1789; and when this man appeared thus to himself, his forehead beaming with the glory of the Jeu-de-Paume and the Bastille, with the high honours which

the national gratitude had heaped upon him in the glorious days of the Constituent Assembly; when he considered fairly the historical position, irrevocably acquired, which he occupied in the first opening of the greatest scenes which marked the triumph of equality over privilege, how could this man consent to descend from the pedestal to which he had been elevated by the conquerors of the 14th July, to plunge and disappear among the crowd of the 18th Brumaire? Doubtless, in the eye of the supreme and mysterious ruler of human affairs, the 18th Brumaire, and the 14th July, were connected in the developement of the same design, with the success of the same cause; but this intimate relation, hidden in the depths of the revolutionary system of Providence, could not the less prevent all the incompatibilities and individual antipathies, which might result from the difference of position, character, and intelligence, existing between the divers instruments of which Providence made use from time to time, according to circumstances, to attain the same end. Thus the patriot of the first federation, jealous of his immutability,



could scarcely come to any understanding with the dictator of 1802; thus La Fayette could refuse the senatorial toga, and

nobly sink into obscurity at his retreat of Lagrange, instead of obstinately losing himself in the brilliant world of the Tuileries.

It was between the senatorial consultation, which decreed the consulship to Bonaparte for ten years, and the plebeian, which rendered this prorogation for life, that the First Consul founded the order of the Legion of Honour.

"This institution," he said, to the legislative body, "effaces aristocratical distinctions, which placed hereditary before ACQUIRED GLORY, and the descendants of great men before GREAT MEN THEMSELVES."

This was rendering fresh homage to the principles of modern philosophy, and constituting true equality on the basis of reward according to merit; but Bonaparte cast this grand creation in the midst of a people who still reckoned amongst their numbers some partisans of hereditary honours, naturally envious of personal distinctions, and some levellers who saw the regeneration of the ancient aristocracy, or the foundation of a new aristocracy, in this most legitimate distinction. This was sufficient for the establishment of the Legion of Honour not to pass without opposition; and, we must observe, it was even attacked by men, who could neither have been suspected of aristocratic rivalry, nor of democratic exaggeration. Bonaparte was astonished at it, and betook himself to the orators who had defended the project. He said that "if the diversity of the orders of chivalry, and the special nature of their rewards, constituted the different classes, the mere decoration of the Legion of Honour, with the universality of its application, was, on the contrary, the type of equality." It was on this account, that he rejected the advice of those who wished him to make the Legion of Honour, exclusively a military order. "This idea," he says, "might have been good in the feudal ages, and in the days of chivalry, or, when the Gauls were conquered by the Franks. The nation was enslaved; the victors alone were free; they were everything; they were all

soldiers.... But we must not compare the ages of barbarism with the present time. We are thirty million of men, united by wisdom, prosperity and commerce. Three or four hundred soldiers are nothing amid this mass. Besides, the general only commands by civil qualities, and when no longer in the field, he returns to the station of a civilian. The nation is the army. If we considered the military abstraction made by its relations with the civil order, we should be convinced that no other law was acknowledged save force, that everything springs from it, that nothing else is regarded. The nature of the soldier is to will everything despotically; that of the civilian, is to submit all to discussion, to truth, and reason. I have, therefore, no hesitation in thinking, that as far as regards pre-eminence, it belongs incontestably to the civil party. I do not govern as a general, but because the nation believes that I have civil qualities fitting me for government. If it had not this opinion, the government could not be endured. I knew well what I did, when General of the army, I took the quality of Member of the Institute; I was sure of being understood even by the most insignificant drummer.

"If the Legion of Honour were not to be the recompense of civil as well as of military services, it would cease to be the Legion of Honour.

"The day on which the first organization is broken upon," he said afterwards, "a great idea will be destroyed, and my Legion of Honour will cease to exist."

De Bourrienne thus speaks: "This idea the Consul had cherished from the time he had seen stars and orders glitter on the breast, or from the button-hole, of foreign ministers. He used frequently to repeat,—'That does well. Such things are necessary for the people.' But his own precipitation had nearly ruined all. On the 4th May, in the Council of State, was first officially proposed, the question of establishing the Legion of Honour; and on the 19th, the decree was legally promulgated. The opposition was very strong; and all the

power of the First Consul, the force of his reasonings, the influence of his situation, could obtain in the Council only fourteen out of twenty-four voices. The same sentiments manifested themselves in the Tribunate, where the measure passed only by a majority of fifty-six to thirty-eight. Nearly the same proportion was obtained in the legislative body, where one hundred and ten noes voted against one hundred and sixty-six ayes. Thus, in all the three bodies, consisting of 394 voters, the measure was carried by only seventy-eight voices. Struck by this feeble majority, the First Consul said to me in the evening,—'Ah! I see clearly, prejudices are still too strong. You were right, I ought to have waited. The matter was not very urgent; and it must be confessed, the speakers in favour of the motion made but a poor defence. The strong minority, too, misapprehended me.'—'Be satisfied,' said I; 'doubtless, it would have been better to have deferred; but the thing is done. You will see the result, it must be grand.'"

It was indeed a noble idea thus to excite and create an emulation among the citizens, by opening to all alike the career of honorary distinctions, as well as those of dignities and functions. From that moment, merit became every thing, and the chance of birth was no longer to be held in estimation; it was the triumph of the Revolution, without its accidental pretensions, anxious to establish that which it had essentially and constantly desired. We must therefore imagine that if the Legion of Honour found numerous adversaries among the most illustrious patriots, it was because they placed no faith in the benefits to be derived from it, as indicated by the orators of the governments, and regarded it merely as a trick of Bonaparte to secure creatures for himself, and insensibly to lead back the nation to its ancient titles, while he only displayed to them a desire to reward the benefactors of their country, and the principles of equality put into practice by the foundation of an order accessible to all. Thus one may



MURAT.

say that the energetic opposition manifested in the bosom of the Tribunate, arose less from the Tribunes misunderstanding the First Consul, than from their feeling a sort of presentiment of the Emperor. But among the consular institutions, there is one at least, which it is not in the power of party feeling to injure or lessen in the memory and gratitude of nations, it is the *Civil Code.*



The peace of Amiens left all the military resources of France, unemployed in the hands of Bonaparte. This induced the First Consul to think of profiting by the European calm to carry the war into America, and effect the conquest of St. Domingo. He gave the command of the expedition to his brother-in-law Leclerc; but it was unsuccessful. The chief result was the capture of the leader of the blacks,

Toussaint L'Ouverture. This man had originally been a slave, and at the outbreak of the Revolution had joined his countrymen in striving to obtain for themselves a participation in the freedom enjoyed by the mother country. After various fortune, Toussaint became a partisan of the French Republic, which had acknowledged the freedom of the negroes. Wishing, however, like Napoleon, to become Dictator of an independent Republic, a rupture was soon the consequence, which, although it cost their chief his liberty, did not dispirit the negroes, but added fresh fuel to their hatred and thirst for vengeance. Toussaint was conveyed to France,



and confined in the prison of the Temple at Paris, but was subsequently sent to the fortress of Joux, in Normandy, where he expired soon after. Leclerc died with regret at the disastrous turn which had been given to the enterprise with which he was charged. Rochambeau, who succeeded him,

lost the colony by his harshness, and the independence of Hayti was acknowledged on the 1st January, 1804.

Italy, the cradle of the glory and power of Bonaparte, also occupied his thoughts. He had received from the Council, re-established at Lyons at the commencement of 1802, the appointment of President of the Cisalpine Republic, of which, no one among the Italians had been able to support the weight, unless he entered into the views of Bonaparte, and kept it for him. "You have only special laws," he said to the deputies of this nation; "and you require general ones. Your people have only local habits, they must form national customs." In the course of the same year, Bonaparte re-united Piedmont with France, and divided it into six departments: the Po, the Doire, the Sesia, the Stura, the Tanaro and the Marengo.

The opening of the year 1803 was marked by a fresh organization of the National Institute, which was divided into four classes: 1st. the sciences; 2nd. languages and literature; 3rd. history and ancient literature; 4th. the fine arts. This classification deprived the Institute of the moral and political sciences; and was caused by the resentment Bonaparte felt towards the solitary opposition of a few metaphysicians, who had dared to raise their voices against his plans of government, even in the bosom of the Tribunate; from which moment, Bonaparte regarded them as mere idealists.

About this time, the First Consul founded various establishments of great importance; the military school at Fontainebleau, and the school of arts at Compiegne.

To his double title of conqueror of the European monarchies, and pacificator of the Republic, Bonaparte wished to add that of Mediator to the Helvetian Confederation. To effect this, he gave Switzerland a new organization, which terminated the differences which had arisen between the ancient cantons. Nineteen states, each possessed of its own constitution, formed the new Helvetia.

The First Consul addressed a proclamation to them, in which was the following :

" No reasonable man can avoid seeing that the mediation which I have taken on myself, is a proof of the goodness of that Providence, which in the midst of so many shocks and troubles, has always watched over the existence and independence of your nation; and that this mediation is the only means which remains to save any of you."

The foreign cabinets beheld with the greatest rancour and exasperation, the prodigious ascendance and universal supremacy, which France and her young leader gradually assumed over the affairs of Europe. At London especially, where so many coalitions had been conceived and formed by the European aristocracy against the French democracy, the peace was submitted to with the greatest impatience. How could the statesmen, who had participated in, or applauded the Brunswick manifesto, quietly contemplate, for any length of time, the spectacle of the greatness and increasing prosperity of a people, whom they had reckoned on handing over as an easy prey to their soldiers? The Tory writers incessantly reproduced all that which the school of Burke and Pitt, had conceived of the most violent and outrageous, against the French Revolution. At first, Bonaparte only replied by inserting an article in the *Moniteur*, which commenced thus:

" A party of English journalists remain a prey to discord. All the lines which they print, are lines of blood. They loudly call for civil war in the bosom of the western nation, so happily pacified. All their reasonings, all their hypotheses, turn on these two points.

" 1st. To imagine grievances against France; 2nd. to create allies for themselves, and thus gain auxiliaries in support of their passions, among the great powers of the continent.

" Their principal grievances are the affairs of Switzerland, the happy issue of which excites their jealous fury."

The official article ended by wishes for the continuation of

the peace, at the same time indicating that France was ready for war, and that nothing was to be gained from her by menacing proceedings. This was soon followed by a second article from the same pen, which finished with this remarkable sentence:

"It is more easy for the waves of the ocean to tear up the rock which has stemmed its fury for forty centuries, than for the faction inimical to Europe and mankind, again to kindle war with all its horrors in the west, and especially for a single moment to dim the bright star of the French nation."

But the First Consul soon had heavier tasks to perform than writing articles for his official journal. It became too evident that the passions of the English libellists had access to the cabinet of St. James, as Bonaparte had boldly observed in this solemn denunciation which the *Moniteur* conveyed from one end of Europe to the other.

"The Times, which is said to be under ministerial *surveillance*, exhausts itself in perpetual invectives against France. Every thing low, vile and wicked that the imagination can paint, is attributed by this wretched paper to the French government. What is its aim? Who pays for it all?

"A journal, edited by miserable emigrants, the most impure remnant of those who left France, mere scum; without honour, soiled with every crime, who can never be set free by any amnesty, these are still fostered by the Times.

"Eleven bishops, with the atrocious bishop of Arras for president, rebels to their country and church, are assembled at London; they print libels against the bishops of the French clergy; they speak injuriously of the government and the Pope, because they have re-established peace and the gospel among forty millions of Christians.

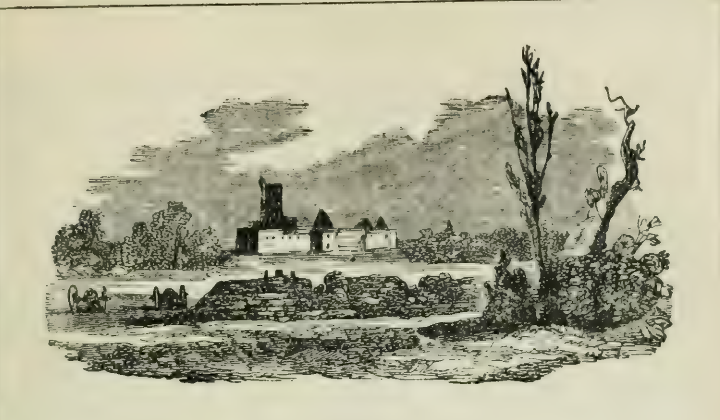
"The isle of Jersey is filled with felons condemned to death by the Tribunals, for crimes committed since the peace, for murder, violations and arson! The Treaty of Amiens stipulates, that persons accused of murder and felony, shall be

respectively given up, yet the assassins of Jersey are protected!

"Georges wears openly in London, his red riband, as a reward for the Infernal Machine which has destroyed part of Paris, and killed thirty women, children and peaceable citizens. Does not this special protection, authorize the belief, that if he had succeeded in his design, he would have been honoured with the Order of the Garter?"

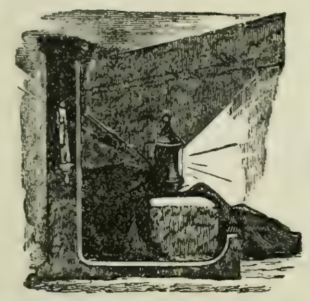
After such recriminations and accusations, what had become of the peace of Amiens?





CHAPTER XV.

Rupture of France with England. Voyages of Bonaparte to Belgium and the coast. Conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges. Death of the Duke D'Enghien. Termination of the Consulate.



ONG as had been the duration of European unity, created by Christianity and conquest, and afterwards placed under the protection of diplomacy, it was at length broken by the French Revolution. All the ancient governments became alarmed at it, and the British cabinet, much as England, may be termed the classic land of liberty, had shewn itself the most prejudiced and obstinate of its enemies, because it represented, under constitutional forms, the most haughty and implacable aristocracy, and the most striking picture of feudality in Europe. It was impossible for France to conclude any lasting and sincere peace with this cabinet, nor with any of those which it directed on the continent. A secret and incessant hostility, might be observed at the bottom of all the pacific demonstrations

of this power, and this antipathy, founded on a radical opposition of principles and interests, continued to gain ground, in proportion as the triumph of the revolutionary principles, by rendering them more menacing, nevertheless compelled the royal anger and the fury of the aristocracy to pause. If the exhaustion and distresses of the people, occasionally compelled the different governments to lay down their arms, there only resulted ephemeral treaties, leaving all the causes of the war still in existence, and which they made no scruple of infringing on the first opportunity. Ancient Europe obstinately desired to re-conquer its unity, as at present; she felt that it was, for her, a question of existence, and when she could not continue to prosecute her object by open force, she dissimulated, and had recourse to secret measures. Modern Europe, on her side, laboured also, sometimes with the heroism of the soldier, sometimes with the prudence of the statesman, to establish a new unity, knowing perfectly well, that there would be no safety for her, as long as equality remained on its ancient footing. This was the sentiment of that indestructible incompatibility, which made Napoleon observe, that "in fifty years, Europe would either become a nation of Cossacks or a Republic;" which merely signifies, that, in this lapse of time, the Revolution or the counter-revolution will have re-established European unity; and as it is not in the natural order of things for strength and fertility, which belong by the will of Providence to youth, to be miraculously taken from it, and conferred upon old age, the prophetic alternative, which the echoes of St. Helena have conveyed to us, contains nothing which ought seriously to alarm men, who hope sooner or later for the conversion of Muscovite barbarism to French ideas.

If after more than thirty years, the war of principles, prevented from breaking out by the influence of the dispositions and the wants of nations, continues morosely in the bosom of peace on the part of the governments, what must it not have

been in 1803, when the passions were constantly inflamed, and when the Revolution had not yet given cause for reliance on its duration and its definitive success, either by the victories of the empire, the impotent attempts of the restoration, or the prodigious events of 1830? An open struggle, must therefore, necessarily succeed these concealed hostilities, as soon as the moment appeared favourable to the inveterate enemies of France. Instead of again sending two nations to oppose each other in a murderous arena, how much better would it have been to have seen them led by their governments towards liberal views, by statesmen of the school of Fox, and thus, in concert, give peace, prosperity and civilization to the world.

A message from the consuls on the 20th May, 1803, informed the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, of the hostile dispositions of the English cabinet, and of the certainty of war. These different bodies replied to this communication, by expressing a desire, "that the most energetic measures should be instantly taken, in order to make the faith of treaties and the dignity of the French people respected." Their resolution, conveyed to the government, was received by these impressive words of the French Consul:

"We are compelled to make war, in order to repulse an unjust aggression; we will do so with glory.

"If the King of England be resolved to maintain Great Britain in a state of war, until France concedes to him the right of executing or violating treaties at his will, as well as the privilege of outraging the French government in the official or private publications, without allowing ourselves the power to complain, then the lot of humanity is indeed to be deplored.

"We would transmit to our grand-children the French name unsullied.

"Whatever the case may be, we shall always leave it for England to commence these violent proceedings against the peace and independence of nations, and she shall receive

from us the example of that moderation, which can alone maintain social order."

The possession of the islands of Lampedouze and Malta, and the evacuation of Holland, were the apparent causes, the pretexts on which the King of England ventured to break the treaty of Amiens; but, in reality, the same cause which had formed the first coalition, made Great Britain once more take up arms against France; it was the war of principles against the French Revolution, which was rekindled. In vain did the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia pretend to offer their mediation; the events of succeeding years, proved that they were the secret allies of the English, with whom they had doubtless concerted the official refusal which was made to their proposition. However, as England had suffered less than the powers of the continent in the earlier wars, and therefore required less time to regain breath, she naturally took the lead in the fresh coalitions, which were to ravage Europe for so long a period.

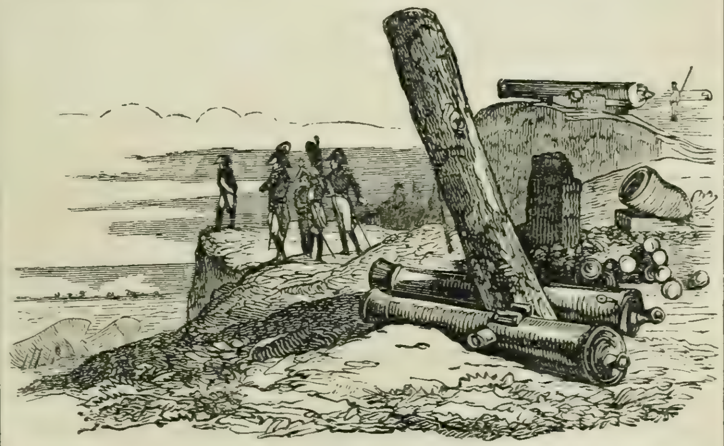


The first result of this rupture was disastrous for the cabinet which had provoked it. The French troops occupied Hanover,

and the Anglo-Hanoverian army, shamefully abandoned by its leader, the Duke of Cambridge, remained prisoners of war.

The struggle thus gloriously commenced, Bonaparte left Paris to visit Belgium. Brussels received him in triumph, and the Belgian people testified every where throughout his passage, the enthusiasm which it felt at the presence of the hero to whom it was so recently indebted for its aggregation with the French Republic. Bonaparte replied to this reception after his usual manner by endowing the country with establishments and buildings of public utility; he ordered the re-union of the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt by a communicating canal.

Returned to Paris, he had the bridge of Arts opened to the public, and converted the Prytanée into a Lyceum. He was equally engaged with foreign affairs; concluded a treaty of alliance with Switzerland, gave an extraordinary audience to the ambassador from the Ottoman Porte, and announced the cession of Louisiana to the United States, for an indemnity of sixty million of francs.



But that which especially occupied the solicitude of the First Consul, was the war with Great Britain. He seriously

meditated a descent upon England, "and if it was laughed at in Paris," he said afterwards, "Pitt did not laugh at it in London." Leaving Paris at the commencement of November, he made a tour of the coast, to visit the immense works which he had commenced with this object in view, and assisted at a battle which took place at Boulogne between an English division and the French flotilla.

On returning to his capital, (for Bonaparte reigned already) the First Consul found a message from the King of England to the parliament, in which George III declared, "That he was about to march at the head of his people; that France aimed at destroying the constitution, the religion and the independence of the English nation, but that in consequence of the measures he was about to take, this same France would only reap defeat, confusion and misfortune from her project."

Bonaparte, seized with indignation, immediately wrote the following for the *Moniteur:*

"Can it be the King of England, the ruler of a nation, mistress of the seas, and sovereign of India, who holds this language? Are those who dictate to him these inconsiderate speeches, ignorant that the perjured Harold also put himself at the head of his people? are they ignorant that the vanities of high birth, the attributes of sovereign power, the purple mantle which decks the shoulders of royalty, form but fragile bucklers in those moments, when death, striding through the ranks of either army, watches for any unexpected movement, in order to determine which side shall furnish him with the greater number of victims? On the day of battle, all men are equal.

"The habit of fighting, the superiority of tactics, and the self-possession of the leaders, alone constitute the conquerors or the conquered. A king, who, at sixty-three years of age, puts himself for the first time at the head of his troops, would be, on the day of battle, an increased burden for his own followers, a fresh chance of success for his enemies.

"The King of England talks of the honour of his crown, of the maintenance of the constitution, of the religion, of the laws, and of independence. Was not the enjoyment of all these rare blessings assured by the treaty of Amiens? What has the rock of Malta in common with your religion, your laws, and your independence?

"It belongs not to human foresight to know that which Providence has determined upon, in its profound wisdom, for the punishment of perjury, and for the chastisement of those who incite division, provoke war, and for the vain pretexts, or secret reasons of a wretched ambition, lavish unsparingly the blood of mankind; but we venture confidently to presage the issue of this important conquest, and pronounce that you will neither have Malta, nor Lampedouze, and that you will sign a far less advantageous treaty than that of Amiens.

"Defeat, confusion and misfortune! All these blusterings are equally unworthy of a great nation, and of a man in his senses. Had the King of England gained as many victories as Alexander, Hannibal or Cæsar, this language would not be more senseless. The fate of war and the lot of battles depends on such trifles, that one must be bereft of all reason to affirm that the French army, which hitherto has not been composed of poltroons, would meet only with defeat, confusion and misfortune from Great Britain."

War had brought Bonaparte into notice as the greatest captain that had ever existed; government had displayed in him the genius of the statesman: nothing was wanting but that he should distinguish himself as a writer, at a period when the press had already become a political organ. Certainly, his proclamations, his orders of the day, his military harangues and his official discourses, might give an idea of the energetic concision, of the noble elevation of his style; but this was not yet sufficient to reveal all the extent and variety of his faculties. His instinct as a great man, told him that he ought to be able to wield all the formidable weapons

of his day, the sword, speech, and the pen; that he must be personally acquainted with all the principal means of which power has need, to govern the people at home, and to defend their rights from without. Besides, journalism exercised an incontestable sway on this point, and that was sufficient for Bonaparte not to disdain adding to his titles of conqueror and legislator, that of journalist; hence he became the complete man of his age. And far from imagining that he thought derogatorily of himself by writing thus in the journals, we are convinced that the conqueror of Marengo did not esteem himself the less with the pen in his hand, combating the enemies of France, in eloquent lines, by the power of reason, than when he brandished his sword at the moment of battle, to hurl on them his invincible phalanxes. We may also observe, that he has more than once said, that if he had to choose between civil and military qualities, he would unhesitatingly grant the pre-eminence to the former, and we have already seen him refer to the care he took in Egypt and Italy, to place his title of Member of the Institute before that of General-in-chief.

In this there was no affectation on his part; no, Bonaparte only comprehended on what conditions a people might in future be governed, who had been driven by philosophy to rebel against the military monarchy of Louis XIV. He knew that the French Revolution was but the struggle of intelligence against the feudal institutions which brute force had established, and that if they themselves had also sometimes been compelled to have recourse to a like violence to defend themselves, it was with the utmost regret that they yielded to this necessity. Bonaparte, therefore, preferred assisting it with his natural weapon, logic, which illumines and enters the mind, subjecting it to reason, to making use of those murderous agents, employed in war to shed tne blood of mankind in such abundance; the only result of which must be, the subjection of reason to force, which essentially constituted the counter-

revolution. Thus, in all the wars which he had to sustain, as General, Consul, or Emperor, he invariably applied himself to establish, as at the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, that he only yielded to necessity in repulsing an unjust aggression, and that he cast upon the enemies of France, the responsibility of the ills which were about to befal humanity.*

While doing justice in his official journal to the foolish parliamentary boastings of king George, the First Consul did not cease to occupy himself actively with the internal re-organization of the Republic. On the 20th December, 1804, he called a council of the senate, who modified the constitution of the legislative body to commence on the 6th January, 1805. M. de Fontanes was appointed president of this body. In preferring him to the other candidates, despite his connections with the royalist party, Bonaparte only pursued the system of fusion by means of which he hoped to reunite, in a common attachment to the Revolution, the moderate enemies, and the exaggerated friends of the democratic cause, those who beheld the Revolution with repugnance, and those who served it by excesses, Fontanes and Fouché, for example, and with them all those men whom prudence or ambition, the fatigue of the past, and the uncertainty of the future, incited to conciliation and repose.

The exposition of the situation of the Republic was made to the legislative body at the sitting of the 16th January. It was a magnificent picture of the progress of the national prosperity. M. de Fontanes, at the head of a deputation, expressed to the First Consul, the felicitations of this assembly, "The legislative body," said he to him, "thanks you in the name of the French nation, for the many useful works

* In order to give more weight to his pacific protestations, Bonaparte wished that they might be clothed with the seal of religion. He demanded public prayers of the clergy for the success of his arms against the unjust aggression of England, and the priesthood acceded to his wishes. The Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Bellay, published on this occasion a memorable sermon, in which he prophetically gave Bonaparte the title of *Conqueror of Europe*, and termed the English government the authors of the war.

commenced in favour of agriculture and industry, and which have not been interrupted by war. The habit of forming great ideas, sometimes causes superior minds to neglect the details of administration; posterity will not apply this reproach to you. The idea and action of your government are every where at once.

"Every thing perfects itself; hatreds become extinguished, oppositions effaced, and, under the victorious influence of a genius which governs all, things, systems and men who appear the most unconnected, approach each other, and serve in concert for the glory of the country. Ancient and modern customs commingle; every thing is preserved which tends to maintain the equality of civil and political rights; every thing is resumed which can increase the splendour and dignity of the great empire.

"These blessings, citizen First Consul, are the work of four years. All the rays of the national glory, which had been fading for five years, have, through you, acquired a greater splendour than they ever possessed."

The universal admiration of which Bonaparte was the object, and the almost unanimous consent which France had given to the consulate for life, one might imagine would have discouraged the factious, and compelled them to remain inactive; but those parties which have a principle to sustain, survive their defeats for a long time, even though this principle, altered by time, should have become little more than a prejudice. The mass of the royalists could yield to the force of things, to the ascendant of the conquering genius, to the fortune of Bonaparte, and be resigned to see the will of God and the finger of Providence, in the prodigious events which had arisen, like unto a wall, hereafter never to be shaken, between the Bourbons and France; such was indeed, the predominating sentiment of this period, among that part of the population which had been formerly devoted to the royal cause. The leaders of the party, nevertheless, and those who

still remained emigrants, constantly persevered in their hatreds and intrigues against the new order of things; they were sure of the sympathy of all the European courts, and of their secret assistance, which could become manifest, according to circumstances; and they had also the flagrant support of England, ever since she had violated her faith, plighted at Amiens.

In this state, it appeared to them that the continuation of internal tranquillity, by leading the people of France back to peaceable habits, would render every new attempt at insurrection, more and more difficult; and that it was therefore urgent to attack the Consul before his power had struck deeper root. A conspiracy was immediately set on foot against the life and government of Bonaparte. The conspiracy extended from the Rhine to the Thames, under the auspices of the English cabinet. Pichegru, faithful to his antecedents of traitor, took part in the plot, in company with the famous *chouan* Georges Cadoudal. Moreau, tarnishing the glory he had acquired at Hohenlinden, received without indignation, listened perhaps, even complacently to the confidence reposed in him by the authors of this odious plot. "How comes it that Moreau is engaged in such an affair?" exclaimed Bonaparte. "The only man who could cause me any uneasiness, the only one who could have any chance against me, to lose himself thus awkwardly!"

The conspiracy being discovered, was denounced by the government to all Europe, by every means of publicity which it possessed. All the bodies of the state came to express to the First Consul, the indignation with which they were penetrated, and to renew the assurance of their concurrence in all the measures which might be required for the repression of similar attempts. Bonaparte thus replied to them:

"Since the day on which I attained the chief magistracy, a great many plots have been formed against my life; bred in

the camp, I have never attached any importance to those dangers which failed to inspire me with fear.

"But I cannot help suffering the most painful reflections, when I think in what a situation this great nation would have been at present, if this last attempt had succeeded; for it is principally the glory, the liberty, and the destinies of the French people which are conspired against.

"For a long period I have given up the enjoyments of a private station; every moment, my whole life is employed in fulfilling the duties which my lot and the French people have imposed upon me.

"Heaven will watch over France, and defeat all the plots of the wicked. Let the citizens remain unalarmed; my life will last as long as the nation requires it. But that which I wish the French people to know, is, that existence without their confidence, and without their love, would be for me comfortless, and no longer have any object."



In thus averting the triumph of the counter-revolution by the success of a plot against his life, and by attaching to his

own existence, the glory, the liberty, and the destinies of France, Bonaparte sufficiently indicated, that the magistracy for life which the people had confided to him, no longer appeared sufficient in his eyes to protect the country for the future, and that he thought of a new institution, which might be able to guard the new interests after his death. Presently we shall see this thought produced and realized.

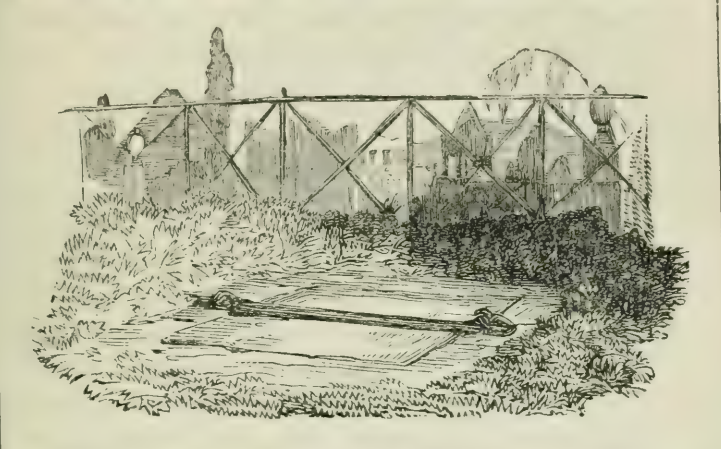
Among the emigrants who held themselves ready to pass the frontier, at the first signal given by the conspirators, was the last scion of the house of Condé, the Duke D'Enghien. The First Consul caused him to be arrested in the states of Baden, and conducted to Vincennes, where he was tried and shot with extraordinary precipitation. This execution has been charged upon Bonaparte as a cowardly assassination, which stamped on his memory, a blot never to be effaced. If the young prince, who inherited one of the greatest names of ancient France, had only made war on ideas and institutions which were naturally his antipathies, after the manner of his ancestors, with frankness, and according to the rules of honour, and the law of nations, his arrest and death would have been included in the system of that implacable policy which employs terror and the scaffold, as its weapons, and from that time, Bonaparte, cited for this act before the tribunal of history, could not have defended himself there, but by identifying his cause with that of the Committee of Public Welfare, and by pleading like that, necessity. But if on the contrary, the Duke D'Enghien, was not content to fight against the Republic as a soldier, and if he had really accepted the alliance of men who did not shrink from attempting the assassination of the First Consul, in order to overthrow and subjugate their country, in that case, he is no longer to be regarded as the descendant of the conqueror of Rocroy, who perished in the ditch of Vincennes, but merely as the accomplice of Georges and Pichegru.

"I had the Duke D'Enghien arrested and tried," said

Napoleon in his will, "because it was necessary to the safety, the interest of the French people, when the Count D'Artois had engaged, according to his own avowal, sixty assassins at Paris. Under like circumstances, I should again do the same." "If I had not had in my favour, and against the Duke, the laws of my country," says he elsewhere, "there would have remained to me in justification of the act, the rights of the law of Nature, those of legitimate defence. He and his friends, had no other object to labour for, but to take my life. I was assailed in all parts, and at every moment; there were air-guns, infernal machines plots and ambushes of all kinds. I got weary of it, I seized this occasion to infuse terror into the minds of those in London, and it accomplished my object. And who could find in it any thing to condemn? Blood demands blood; it would be folly or madness, to believe that one family could have had the strange privilege of attacking daily my existence, without giving me a right to retaliate. I had never personally done any thing to injure any one of the Bourbons; a great nation had placed me at its head, almost the whole of Europe had acquiesced in that choice, and after all, my blood was worth as much as theirs."

Without doubt, the blood of the great man, who commanded the admiration of Europe, and gave happiness to France, was not worth less than the blood of princes, who strove to trouble France and Europe, to gain a restitution to their proud nothingness, of a power which Providence, by the voice of the people, had bestowed on genius. But who does not know that the blood of heroes, which protects the heraldic *prestige*, is held to be above all price, by royal races, and the aristocracy that group around them? Who does not know that, the same men who affect to be shocked and indignant at seeing an hereditary illustration fall before the scythe of political reaction, can dance like savages in the neighbourhood of the punishment, when the fatal axe strikes the personal illustration. Ask rather the shade of that unfortunate marshal who was not the

descendant of the brave; but who was the bravest of the brave, and had not sullied that title, by admitting to his con-



fidence cowardly assassins. He who is truly humane, feels sad emotion, and sheds tears for all the victims of Revolution without distinction of parties; he who is truly French, has sympathy for all the glories of France, he is afflicted, and mourns in despite of inexorable state policy, when it cannot respect in its rage, the vast renown acquired at Austerlitz and Marengo, as when it inscribes on its homicidal annals the illustrious names of Fontenoy and Rocroy.

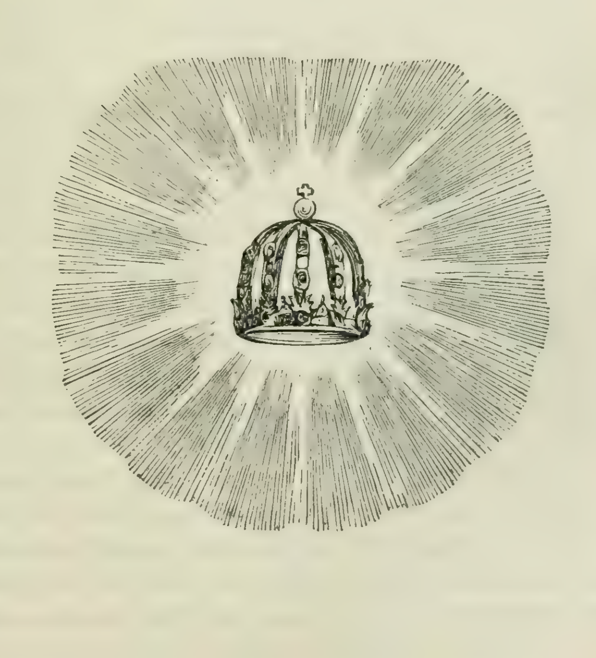
It has been pretended that Bonaparte had been induced to put the Duke D'Enghien to death, by the desire of giving a pledge against the return of the Bourbons, to the old Jacobins, who surrounded him, and who had paved his way to the throne. This supposition to which the character and the words of Bonaparte both give the lie, is altogether improbable. We will not recall the firing of St. Roche, and the deputation of the Clichyens; there were obstacles more insurmountable than the recollections of the 15th Vendemiaire, and of the 18th Fructidor, between the First Consul, and the Royalist party. Others more compromised than he was, with the former dynasty, Fouché and Talleyrand, for instance, quietly

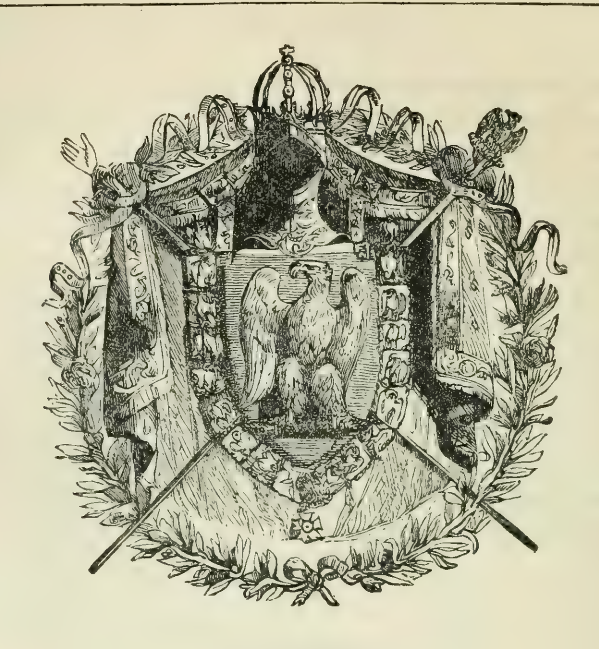
seated themselves at a later period, in the councils of Louis XVIII; but that which rendered truly useless the horrible pledge which they would have exacted from him, is that he had sufficiently shewn that which he wished to be, and could be. Every body knew perfectly, that to have come to an understanding with the Bourbons, he must suddenly change his nature, desert his destiny, forget his position, and that of France, that he must renounce at the same time, his past and his future, that, in a word he must have ceased to be himself. "I have never dreamed of the princes," said he at St. Helena, "and if I had been favourably disposed towards them, it would not have been in my power to serve them. For the rest, the report ran, that I had made propositions touching the cession of their rights, and this they were pleased to consecrate in pompous proclamations, which were circulated through all Europe in great profusion. There was nothing in it. And how could there have been any thing in it? since I could only reign by maintaining that principle which excluded them, the sovereignty of the people. This, no doubt would have been credited in time by reflecting persons who believed me to be neither mad nor imbecile."

However it may have been, the conspirators who had wished again to set up the throne of the Bourbons at the price of an assassination, contributed in effect, to the re-establishment of the monarchy; but this revolution was not accomplished in favour of the pretender whom they had thought to serve; and they were enabled to see from their prison that they had foolishly placed a crown on the head of the man whom they had meditated slaying.

"The following dialogue," says de Bourrienne, "will give some idea of the manner in which George's examination and replies were conducted. When the witnesses to his arrest had answered the interrogatories of the president, the latter turned towards Georges, asking,—'Have you any thing to reply?'—'No.'—'Do you admit the facts?'—'Yes.'—'You

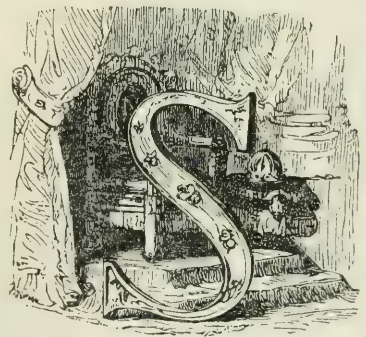
admit having been arrested in the place mentioned by the witness?'—'I know not the name of the place.'—'You admit having been arrested?'—'Yes.'—'Did you fire two pistol shots?'—'Yes.'—'Did you kill a man?'—'Upon my word I cannot tell: I know nothing of it.'—'You had a poniard?'—'Yes.'—'And two pistols?'—'Yes.'—'Whom had you with you?'—'I do not know him.'—'Where did you lodge in Paris?'—'Nowhere.'—'At the moment of your arrest did you not lodge with a fruiterer, Rue Montagne St. Geneviève?'—'At the moment of my arrest I was in a cabriolet: I was lodged nowhere.'—'Where did you sleep the night preceding?'—'Nowhere.'—'What were you doing in Paris?'—'I was walking about.'—'What persons did you see there?'—I shall name no one—I know them not.'"





CHAPTER XVI.

Establishment of the Imperial government. Act of clemency. Camp of Boulogne. Voyage to Belgium,



SURELY, if Bonaparte had only required power, to assist him in re-establishing order and unity in the administration of the state, and to give the Revolution, hitherto necessarily of a military character, the regular which the convulsions of the democracy had for a long time rendered impossible, the exercise of the supreme magistracy for life, might have sufficed him, especially as he had the exorbitant right of naming his own successor. In effect, the choice left to the discernment of so high a mind, offered the new power

much safer guarantees than the chance of the birth of an unskilful heir; and nothing could be more probable, than that the first-born of the future monarch would be less apt than the second of the illustrious children of France, in governing this beautiful country.

In striving to re-constitute an hereditary power, he doubtless thought chiefly of fixing the stability of his work, of perpetuating the new order, arisen from the Revolution. "An hereditary line," said he, "can alone prevent the counter-revolution. There is nothing to fear while I live; but after me, every elective leader, would be too feeble to resist the power of the Bourbons. France is greatly indebted to her twenty generals of division; they have fought bravely in the rank which they occupied; but not one of them has the stuff for becoming a General-in-chief, and still less a leader of government." (*Pelet de la Lozère*).

Was this severe judgment, passed by Bonaparte on the generals of division merited? has not the lie been given by several of them to their so loudly proclaimed governmental inaptitude? and is it not one of those lieutenants, of whom it was scornfully said in 1804, that not one of them "had the stuff for a leader of government," who still occupies, in 1840, the throne of Sweden, to which he was called in 1810, without the coalition of the ancient royal races, who broke the sceptre of Napoleon, having been able to find, through the inactivity, or the faults of this ancient French general, the means, or the opportunity of restoring the legitimate line in Sweden, as it succeeded in doing with respect to France, and of entirely delivering monarchical Europe from the scandal of plebeian royalties?

And if the most celebrated generals had really been incapable of taking on themselves the character of a "leader of government," did the noted civilians who surrounded the First Consul, also consist solely of political incapacities, from whom he might equally well have chosen the head of a

government, as among those of more warlike reputations? We do not believe it; and it appears to us incontestable, that if Bonaparte, in order to justify the re-establishment of hereditary succession, seriously alleged the impossibility of finding a man worthy of the first magistracy, in the vast concourse of celebrated men, whom the Revolution had displayed to France, his intelligence was for once the dupe of his ambition. In searching for a guarantee of stability in the restoration of hereditary monarchy, did Bonaparte rely less on the personal valour of his heir, than on the power of the hereditary principle? If this hope existed in the bosom of the First Consul, and was shared by the statesmen who assisted him in again raising the throne, it merely proves that the most exalted genius has its moments of slumber, and the most practised sagacity, its days of short-sightedness.

Possibly, they may have reckoned on the power of the hereditary principle in the middle ages; hereditary succession was then not only possible but necessary. It was possible, since it sufficed for religion to have consecrated it, to render it inviolable in the eyes of princes and their people, whose fervent and deeply rooted faith, assured a common submission to every institution, law or maxim, bearing a divine character. It was possible, because, in those times of universal and profound belief, the crowning of kings was not a vain ceremony; for the holy oil had its political virtue, and the stamp of legitimacy belonged only to the Lord's anointed and his race.

It was necessary, since, without the religious consecration of this political dogma, the tranquillity and unity of the kingdom would have been compromised, at the end of each reign, by the rivalries of the great vassals, some of whom would have seized on the crown by main force, whilst others would equally have employed their strength in order to render themselves independent, and throw of the yoke of all subjection. Since, in spite of the public right of monarchy, sanctioned by religion, these ambitious pretensions and anarchical tendencies

have manifested themselves so many times, and so often provoked civil war in France, from the origin of the feudal system, to the troubles of La Fronde, what would not those nobles, greedy of power and wealth, anxious for war, and impatient of all curb, have dared, if their turbulence and ambition had not been restrained by the moral authority of a principle, which they could not infringe, without exposing themselves to the reproaches of their own consciences, and without placing themselves, like impious felons, under the ban of church and state? The feudal barbarisms and indocilities would have torn the bosom of France still more lamentably than they did, and the crown would have been bereft of the means of triumphing over them. It was the religious sanction granted to hereditary succession which rendered the obstinate insubordination of the barons definitely powerless against the throne, as it invested Joan of Arc with the miraculous power of which she had need, to save, with an infant king, the finest kingdom in the world. When Richelieu and Louis XIV. succeeded in taming the ancient aristocracy, and struck out the plan of unity and centralization, since perfected and realized by the French Revolution, the violences and despotism which they employed against the nobles, were beneficial to the royal power, instead of being fatal to it, because that power was then the representative of the divine right, still protected by the faith of nations, and because, in striking the haughty subjects who stood in his way, he obtained overwhelming brute strength, hidden under the pomp of titles.

In 1804, what had become of the divine right, the protector of hereditary succession?

It had given place to the divine right of merit and genius, and the universal faith was henceforth acquired for the sovereignty of the people.

On another side, were there any formidable vassals round the consular chair, masters of the finest provinces of the

monarchy, incessantly disposed for war, and ready to trouble the state, in order to possess themselves of the supreme power, or to declare themselves independent in some corner of the empire? No, there was nothing of all that to fear: if the holy ampulla had been lost, the game had been up. Instead of the feudal powers, hereditarily destined for the trade of arms, and unable to maintain themselves safe by warfare, in a society constituted by conquest, and organized for war, France beheld arising in all parts, through agriculture and commerce, through arts and sciences, fresh powers which elevated themselves above those formerly existing, with all the superiority of personal merit over the chance of birth, and unable to subsist or aggrandize itself but by peace. The military men of note owed their elevation merely to the agitated condition in which the country had been for the last fifteen years, and their glory consisted chiefly in allowing it to enjoy peaceably the benefits of a revolution, which, by preparing the moral and industrious association of nations, might at some distant period, render all war impossible. The French generals were moreover without particular and direct influence over any portion of territory, without any means of imitating the warlike people of the *ancien régime.* It was impossible to find among them an Armagnac, or a Bourgnignon, a Montmorency, or a D'Epernon; and their conduct, savouring so much of reserve and prudence, at each change in the government, has proved, indeed, in the sequel, that the transmission of power, hereditary or elective, would not be troubled or opposed by their personal views.

Bonaparte, therefore, deceived himself when he thought to justify the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy, by quoting maxims and facts, which belonged to a perfectly different social state. That which had been possible and necessary in the bosom of a military and credulous society, was neitner necessary nor possible in an industrious and sceptical society which had no longer to dread feudal violence, and which only

asked of the god of battles, as the price of the most striking warlike triumphs, the right of pursuing in security its pacific labours.

The First Consul, about the period of the 18th Brumaire, had, indeed, advanced some very powerful reasons against hereditary succession; he declared that this institution, so salutary to France in the middle ages, had become impossible for the same nation in the nineteenth century. "Hereditary succession is absurd," said he, "not on account of its rendering the stability of the state, doubtful, but because it is impossible in France. It has been established here for a length of time; but with institutions rendering it practicable, which no longer exist, and which one cannot and ought not to re-establish. Hereditary succession is derived from the civil law of right; it supposes property, and is made in order to ensure the transmission of it. How is the hereditary succession of the first magistracy to be reconciled with the principle of the sovereignty of the people? how can we be persuaded that this magistracy is a property? When the crown was hereditary, there were a great number of magistracies which were so also; this fiction was an almost universal law; nothing now remains of it." (THIBAUDEAU.—*The Consulate and the Empire.*)

From the commencement to the end of the consulate, had that which was absurd become reasonable, and the radical dissemblance between the present and the past, so clearly perceived in 1800, had it ceased, or was it less striking in 1804?

No, certainly; but if each epoch had preserved its character, Bonaparte had modified its ideas. The supreme power for life, no longer sufficed him. The proud thought of furnishing a dynasty, and converting his family into a royal race, had found access to his soul. Hence his policy, hitherto always national and philosophical, always vast and great as the intelligence from which it emanated, found itself exposed to corruption by its contact with secondary considerations, and too often to descend to the diminutive proportions of the

vanities and combinations of dynasties. "This overgrown giant," says M. de Chateaubriand, "did not altogether bind his destinies with those of his contemporaries; his genius belonged to the present age, his ambition to the past; he did not perceive that the miracles of his life far exceeded the worth of a diadem, and that this gothic ornament would ill become him."

It is, however, but justice to say, that Bonaparte, in yielding to "his ambition of the past," sufficiently held in view the necessities of "the present age," not to attribute to the hereditary succession which he instituted, the absolute character, and the rigorous consequences of the ancient divine right. He wished, on the contrary, to reconcile it as much as possible with the sovereignty of the people; therefore, when the senate repaired to him in a body, on the 28th Floreal, year XII, (18th May, 1804), to present to him their decree of that day, by which the First Consul was called to the throne, and the Imperial dignity pronounced hereditary in his family, Bonaparte thus replied:

"I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I trust that France will never repent of the honours which she will confer on my family. At least, my spirit will certainly have departed from my posterity, when it shall cease to merit the love and confidence of the French people."

Was not this rendering the hereditary succession purely conditional, making the privileges of blood subject to the rights of the nation, maintaining the actual exercise of the sovereignty of the people, and solemnly promising to further the eventual deposition of the dynasty which he founded, when it should lose the national confidence?

At this rate, the hereditary principle, allowed to the members of the imperial family, nothing more than a species of legal candidateship, which might offer some guarantees of order and stability against the shocks inseperably attached thereto, without depriving the people of the sovereign right of deposing

the one next in succession, if unworthy of the honour, or if he ceased to merit their love and confidence.

Hereditary succession, has, indeed, thus been understood and practised in France since the commencement of this century. Bonaparte, himself, who was so afraid of dying before the completion of his work, and who wished to beget heirs, in order to assure the consolidation thereof, survived his dynasty and his own government, for want of an adequate support against the stranger, in the popular lion which he had enchained or sent to sleep under the shade of his glorious despotism. The vote of the Luxemburg, and the consecration of Notre Dame were of no avail ; the senate which should have exalted, depressed him; the pontiff, who should have blessed, cursed him; and when the ancient legitimate race, came to seat itself on the ruins of the imperial throne, and to defy, in its improvidence and pride, the spirit of the age and the nation, it sufficed for a few armed mechanics to punish this haughty dynasty, to avenge the nation and the age, and verify Bonaparte's own words, " that for the future, hereditary succession, as it existed among the ancient kings, would be absurd and impossible." From this it may be perceived, that, the genius of the man, the oath at Paris, and again at Rheims, were but vague guarantees of stability; and that, if the constitutional consecration of an hereditary throne preserves the country from frequent popular agitations and electoral intrigues, it is only in order to deliver it into the hands of periodical revolutionary commotions. There would, indeed, have been nothing to fear from the tumult of primary assemblies, but the dynastic chain would not the less have been broken ; instead of the hum of scrutiny, would have been heard the clicking of arms; an invasion would have been effected, or a revolution have taken place, and the order of the succession, imagined as an infallible means of perpetuity for governments, would have found itself twice violated in less than twenty years, now by foreign bayonets, with the consent

of the nation, now by the national sword, incited by foreign bayonets. It would then be time to congratulate oneself on having escaped from the inseparable disorders of the elective system, and having placed the tranquillity of the state, and the fate of princely races under the protection of hereditary succession!

What, however, could be, what indeed was the moral impression made on the minds of all European nations, by the re-establishment of monarchy and hereditary power in France?

Considered abstractedly, did royalty and hereditary succession really gain thereby? did thrones rest on a firmer basis? were dynasties rendered more safe, the former pomp which had constituted their splendour and strength, did it resume the power of fascination which it had previously exercised over the whole of European society.

On the contrary, this illusion was lessened more than ever in the eyes of nations, when they beheld the people who had solely governed under the cap of liberty, convert one of their soldiers into an emperor, clothe him with the purple and gird his brow with the diadem, which ancient Europe could not but regard as a profanation of the insignias of monarchy, and as an odious usurpation.

The principle of hereditary succession was shaken more than ever, when plebeian families, replacing the most noble dynasties in France, in Italy, in Spain, and elsewhere, seated themselves fraternally by the side of the descendents of Charles V., Peter the Great, and Frederick.

It was the destiny of Bonaparte to remain the most active agent of the Revolution, even in regard to those acts which appeared to bear the stamp of the counter-revolution. To defend itself against all Europe, this Revolution had to pass from the constitutional monarchy to the Republic. To extend itself over all Europe, and spread every where the germ of French ideas, she became ambitious and conquering,

and passed from the Republic to the military monarchy. This fresh transformation was effected by the senate on the 28th Floreal, year XII, (18th May, 1804). The Consul Cambacérès, appointed to bear this solemn act to the feet of the colleague who had become his master, pronounced the following words:

"The French nation has, for a series of years, tasted the advantages attached to the hereditary succession of power. It has made a short but painful trial of the opposite system; and now returns, after mature deliberation, into the path conformable to its genius. It freely makes use of its rights to delegate to your Imperial Majesty, a power, which its own interests, forbids it to exercise by itself. It stipulates for generations to come, and, by a solemn compact, confides the happiness of its posterity, to your offspring. The latter will imitate your virtues; and merit our love and fidelity."

Napoleon replied:

"Every thing which can contribute to the good of the country, is essentially connected with our happiness.

"I accept the title which you consider to be of service to the glory of the nation."

Afterwards subjecting the new hereditary succession to the sanction of the popular vote, he took care not to provoke the democratic repugnances of the age, and to render a last homage to the sovereignty of the people, by the same act which went to suspend indefinitely the exercise of it. It was then that he proffered this remarkable phrase which we have already quoted.

"I submit the law of hereditary succession to the sanction of the people. I trust that France will never repent of the honours with which she has surrounded my family. My spirit will certainly have departed from my posterity, when it shall cease to merit the love and confidence of the Great Nation."

On retiring from their audience with the Emperor, the

senate repaired in a body, to Josephine in order to salute her with the title of Empress. "Madam," said Cambacérès, addressing her, "fame has made us acquainted with the good actions which are incessantly performed by you; it informs us, that, always accessable to the unfortunate, you only employ your influence with the head of the state, to relieve their misfortunes, and that, to the pleasure of obliging, your majesty adds, that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude more soothing, and the benefits conferred more precious. This disposition presages, that the name of the Empress Josephine will be the beacon of consolation and hope. The senate rejoices at being the first to salute your Imperial Majesty."

Cambacérès was rewarded for his zeal by the dignity of arch-chancellor. He deserved no less, for the readiness which he had evinced in resigning the title of second magistrate of the Republic, to take that of first subject of the empire. Lebrun became arch-treasurer.

It was not only in his reply to the senate, that Napoleon strove to get rid of all Republican susceptibilities; the form of the oath he took, on ascending the throne, clearly displays the same desire. He wishes France to believe that the Emperor, like the Consul, is but the first representative of the Revolution, the most glorious and powerful support of the popular cause, the supreme defender of the Republic itself. The oath was as follows:

"I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Republic; to respect and make the laws of the Concordat and the liberty of conscience respected; to respect, and cause to be respected the equality of rights, political and civil liberty, the irrevocability of the sales of national property; to levy no impost, to establish no tax, but in virtue of the law, to maintain the institution of the Legion of Honour; to govern solely with a view to the interest, the happiness and the glory of the French nation."

In spite of the numerous efforts to make the nation believe

that the establishment of the empire, would still leave the Republic in existence, it was impossible that the foundation of a new dynasty, should not awaken the fears of the persevering Republicans, and produce on their side some energetic protestations. The most illustrious of them, Carnot, again became their organ, on this occasion. The proposal to re-establish hereditary power, in favour of Napoleon and his family, had been given birth to in the bosom of the Tribunate. It was there that Carnot opposed it on its appearance. "Since the 18th Brumaire," said he, "an epoch has arisen, perfectly unique in the annals of the world, enabling one to meditate, free from interruption, on placing liberty on a solid basis; such as might be approved by experience and reason. After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte might have chosen between the republican and the monarchical system: he might have done whatever he wished, and would not have met with the least opposition. Our liberty was confided to his charge, he had sworn to defend it: by keeping his promise, he would have fulfilled the expectations of the nation, who would have judged him alone capable of resolving the grand problem of public liberty in vast states, he would have covered himself with an incomparable glory."

The voice of Carnot was lost in the desert. The great bodies of the state were unanimous * in their inclination towards monarchy. It might have been regarded as a miraculous resurrection from the right-hand side of the Constituent Assembly. It was not, however, from this side that the Senate and the Tribunate, nor even the Legislative body were come. But such had been the march of events, that the veterans of the Convention, found themselves suddenly metamorphosed into courtiers, forgetful of their principles, their language, and of their ancient costume.

The Republican Generals yielded like the ancient represen-

* There were but three oppositionists in theSenate, Gregoire, Lambrechts and Garat. Lanjuinais was absent.

tatives of the people, to the empire of circumstances. Always devoted to the Revolution, they consented so much the more readily to serve it under its new form, since they found in it a pledge of stability for their own elevation. The day after his promotion to the imperial dignity, Napoleon called around the throne his most illustrious companions in arms, whom he invested with the title of marshals of the empire, namely: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brume, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon and Serrurier.

The people did not accuse the soldiers of the Republic of apostacy, on seeing them accept a title which recalled feudal monarchy. On the contrary, they regarded as a fresh homage to the principles of equality, which were so dear to them, the decree which reserved exclusively for services and military talents, the high dignity, which the old system bestowed almost always on birth alone.

Napoleon soon had occasion to signalize his attainment to the supreme power by an act of clemency. The sentence of the court of criminal justice, pronounced on the 10th June 1804, condemned Georges Cadoudal and his accomplices to the punishment of death. General Moreau, protected by the celebrity of his name, and the sympathies of the army, escaped the ignominous death of the conspirators; the court only adjudged him an imprisonment of two years, which was commuted into perpetual exile. But, of the accused, capitally condemned, were some men of high birth; M. M. de Rivière and de Polignac, among others. The most powerful intercession was made with Napoleon to save them, and Josephine undertook to second the pressing supplications of their terrified families. Under her auspices, Madame de Montesson repaired to St. Cloud, and there presented Madame de Polignac to the Emperor, who came to beg for the pardon of her husband, and that of M. de Rivière. "We succeeded," said the Empress a few days after, "in bringing Madame de Polignac

into his presence; my God! how beautiful she was! Bonaparte was touched on beholding her; and said: 'Madam your husband aimed at my life, I can therefore pardon him.'"



The generosity of Napoleon did dot stop at those of the condemned, whose names had raised powerful intercessions in their favour. A young girl, sprung from an obscure house, did not depart from the palace of St. Cloud, and the presence of the Emperor, less happy than Madame de Polignac. She had obtained for her brother, that which Napoleon had granted to the great lady for her husband. The imperial clemency, invoked with success by M. M. de Polignac and de Rivière, was extended also to Lajolais, Bouvet de Lozier, Rochelle, Galliard, Russillon, and Charles D'Hozier. Georges and his other accomplices were sent to the scaffold. Pichegru had anticipated at once his condemnation and punishment by strangling himself in prison. "The execution of Georges," says Napoleon in his *Memoires,* "will inspire no regret, because assassination, from whatever cause it may arise, will



always be odious to Frenchmen. The act of Judith has need of all the power of Scripture, to render it otherwise than revolting." As for the suicide of Pichegru, it need not be considered doubtful, at a time when all the hateful passions of contrary parties and conquered factions, knew so well how to blacken and calumniate the victor. There may even have been some honest men, who allowed themselves to be persuaded that the death of Pichegru had been hastened by the orders of the Emperor. "It would be shameful to defend one's self from it," said Napoleon; "it is too absurd. What could I gain by it? A man of my character does not act without great motives. Have you ever seen me shed blood from caprice? Whatever the efforts which have been made to blacken my life and degrade my character, those who have known me, know, that my organization is opposed to crime, and there is not in all my administration, one private act, which I could not justify before a tribunal; I do not say without embarrassment, but even with honour. It certainly is true, that

Pichegru saw himself in a desperate situation, without resource; his proud spirit could not look the infamy of punishment in the face, he despaired of my clemency, or disdained it, and he put an end to his existence."

But while the princes, who had armed the hand of Georges, and drawn Pichegru into a new treason on the British soil, were overwhelmed with the shame of having given the sceptre, to him whom they wished to destroy by the poiniard, the chief of the Bourbon family, whom Napoleon declared he had never "found in a direct conspiracy against his life," and who had then retired to Warsaw, thought it right to publish a manifesto against the senatorial act which had founded a fourth dynasty. Fouché, who had the earlist information of this instrument, was on the alert to lay it before the Emperor, in the persuasion, that, Napoleon would appreciate his zeal and diligence, and that he would immediately give severe orders to prevent the declaration of Louis XVIII. being circulated in France. Fouché deceived himself. Napoleon took the copy of the pretender's declaration, read it, and coolly remarked to the minister who presented it: "Ah; as the Count de Lisle wishes to make his cause good! Well! all in good time! my right is in the will of France, and so long as I have a sword, I shall be able to maintain it. The Buorbons, however· ought to know, that I fear them not; let them leave me in peace. Do you say that the rabble of the Faubourg St. Germain are taking and distributing copies of the protest of the Count de Lisle. Good God! let them read it at their leisure. Fouché, send it to the *Moniteur*, I wish it to appear to-morrow;" and in fact, the next day, the 4th July, the *Moniteur* published the declaration of Louis XVIII.

The anniversary of the taking of the Bastille came a few days afterwards. That Republican fête might have seemed troublesome to a new monarch. It, however, did not prove so; Napoleon knew how to avail himself of the recollections of the 14th July, and to connect them with the institutions he

had founded. He chose that day, even, for the first distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, and for the administration of the oath to the members of it. The ceremony took place at the Hospital of Invalids. The Cardinal Du Belloy, archbishop of Paris, went at the head of his clergy to receive the Emperor at the church-door. Napoleon was



followed by the grand dignitaries and principal functionaries of the empire. After divine service, Lacépède, grand-chancellor of the Legion of Honour, made a speech of which the followed is an extract:

"On this day, all that the people willed on the 14th July, 1789, exists, by its authority. It has conquered its liberty; it has founded it on immutable laws; it has willed equality;

it is defended by a government of which it is the basis. Repeat these words, which have already been uttered, and let them resound to the extremities of the empire. That which was established by the 14th July, is never to be shaken; nothing of that which it was its object to destroy, can reappear."

After his speech, Lacépède, having called on the great officers of the Legion, among whom was seen the Cardinal Caprara, the Emperor covered himself, after the manner of the kings of France, and in the midst of the profound silence of the ministers of religion there assembled, said, in a firm voice:

"Commanders, officers, members of the Legion, citizens, and soldiers, you swear on your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the Empire, and to the preservation of its territory in its integrity; to the defence of the Emperor, to the laws of the Republic, and the properties which they have consecrated; to combat by all the means, which justice, reason, and the laws authorize, every thing which may tend to re-establish the feudal system; in fine, you swear to combine all your power, for the maintenance of liberty and equality, the first basis of our constitution. You swear."

All the members of the Legion exclaimed: "We swear!" and the cries of "Long live the Emperor," immediately resounded through the arches of the temple. M. de Bourrienne, declares, that it would be impossible to describe the enthusiasm of the assistants.

The day after this ceremony, the Polytechnic School received a new organization.

Two days afterwards, Napoleon left Paris to visit the shores of the Channel, and to inspect the camps which he had formed there. He had announced that the object of this journey was, a solemn distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, to the brave men who could not be present at that of the Invalids. It was nevertheless generally believed that this

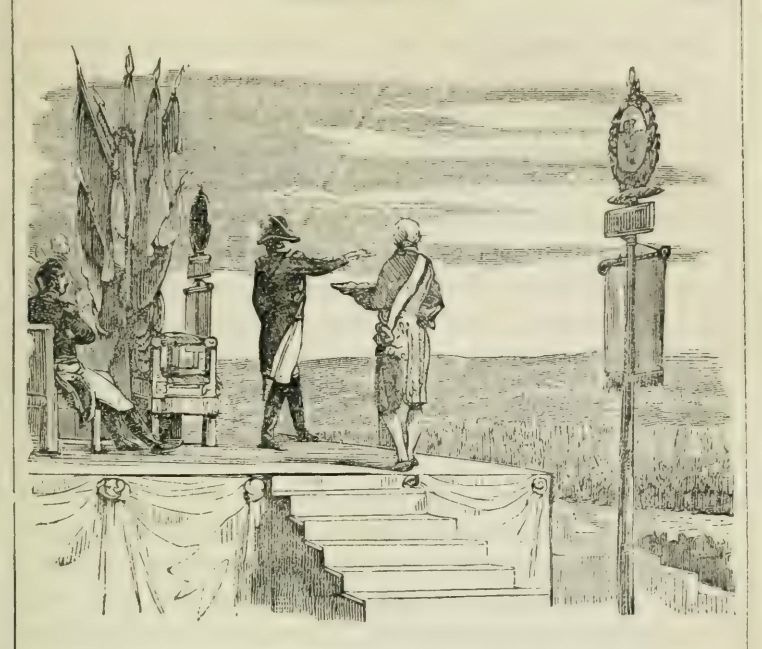
distribution was but a pretext, and that Napoleon had more especially in view the realization of what was considered his favourite project, a descent upon England.

The troops formed in *échelon* on the shore, extended from Etaples to Ostend. Davoust commanded at Dunkirk; Ney at Calais, Oudinot at St. Omer; Marmont on the frontiers of Holland, and Soult at the general camp at Boulogne.

On his arrival at this last mentioned town, the Emperor found the army full of ardour and enthusiasm. Soldiers and Generals believed themselves on the point of passing over, and the inhabitants of the other side of the Channel, were no longer without uneasiness. Five hundred sail, commanded by Admiral Verhuel, seemed but to wait the signal to proceed to the ports of Great Britain. Napoleon, alone, knew the secret of the eventual destination of these formidable camps. While really menacing England, he saw new tempests gathering over the Continent; and when he appeared absorbed by the immense preparations of a maritime expedition, it was then, perhaps, that he most actively prepared for the continental war, of which he perceived in the distance the inevitable explosion.

Eighty thousand men from the camps of Boulogne, and Montreuil, were united under the orders of Marshal Soult in a vast plain, not far from Cæsar's tower. The Emperor appeared in the midst of them, surrounded by a staff, composed of the most illustrious captains of that grand epoch. He placed himself on an eminence, which Nature seemed to have prepared to serve for a throne, and there, in a loud voice, he repeated the speech, which he had made to the members of the Legion, at the Hospital of Invalids. His words were not less potent at Boulogne than at Paris; they called forth universal acclamations, and the satisfaction manifested was so great, that one of his aides-de-camp, General Rapp, has since declared, that he never saw Napoleon so well pleased.

This memorable day was, nevertheless, troubled towards



evening by a storm, which, at first, made them fear for a portion of the flotilla. The Emperor, advised of it, hastened down to the port, to order the necessary measures to be taken, and to preside at their execution. But on his arrival, the tempest ceased, as if the elements had been also subject to the ascendant of the great man, and to the irresistible fascination of his glance. The flotilla re-entered the port in safety, and Napoleon returned to the camp, where the troops soon gave themselves up to all kinds of diversions. The *fête* was terminated by a fire-work on the shore, the luminous jets of which were even perceived off the English coast.

During the sojourn of Bonaparte at the camp of Boulogne, two English sailors, prisoners at Verdun, escaped and reached Boulogne, where they constructed a little boat, without any other tools than their knives, out of some pieces of wood, which they put together as well as they could, in order to attempt to cross over to England in this frail bark, which one man could

easily have carried on his back. Their labour being finished, the two sailors put to sea, and endeavoured to reach an English frigate, which was cruising in sight of the coast. They had scarcely set out, when the custom-house officers perceived them. Being shortly seized and conveyed back to port, they were led before the Emperor, who had demanded to see them, as well as their small vessel, in consequence of the sensation which their daring attempt had made throughout the camp. "Is it really true," asked the Emperor, "that you could have thought of crossing the sea in that?"—"Ah! sire," said they, "if you doubt it, give us permission, and you shall see us depart."—"I will do so willingly; you are bold, enterprising men; I admire courage wherever it is found; but I do not wish you to expose your lives; you are free; and more, I will have you conducted on board an English ship. You will mention in London, the esteem in which I hold brave men, even though they be my enemies." These two men, who would have been shot as spies, if the Emperor had not had them brought before him, obtained not only their liberty;



Napoleon gave them also several pieces of gold. Later, he

was fond of relating this fact to his companions in exile at St. Helena.

The Emperor, as we have already said, expected a continental war sooner or later. He knew that although the diplomacy of Europe had modified its tone and its pretensions under the weight of our arms, it had neither changed its affections nor its principles. Every day the intrigues of the English cabinet were liable to induce the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, or Berlin to form a fresh coalition against France. The hostile dispositions of all these courts was foreseen by every one who understood the incompatibility of the French revolutionary monarchy with the ancient royalty of other states. But Napoleon knew still better, and for a certainty, by means of his diplomatic agents, the fact of the ill-will and warlike tendencies of the Austrian, Russian and Prussian cabinets. The eighty thousand men whom he had before him in the camp at Boulogne, were intended to serve as events might direct. He therefore neglected nothing to stimulate and maintain the enthusiasm of the troops. With the remains of the Republican army, he formed the flower of the Imperial phalanxes, which were destined by Providence to traverse all the capitals of Europe. There were always the same soldiers, the same generals, the men and the spirit of the eighteenth century, the children of the Revolution. The camp of Boulogne was the cradle of this great army, which, ever victorious, after ten years of unheard-of triumphs, found, on the field of Waterloo, a tomb dug by treason and fatality, and which was rendered illustrious by its heroism, in preferring death to the yoke.

The military preparations, which so actively employed the Emperor, did not, however, prevent him from bestowing his care on the civil administration of the Empire. On the contrary, it pleased him to shew, not only that his genius and solicitude embraced every ramification of the government, but that his mind could dwell at the same moment, without losing

any of its force, on the most opposite subjects. Thus in the midst of the inspections and reviews at the camp of Boulogne, he founded the ten-yearly prizes by a decree as follows:

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, to all whom the present letters shall concern, greeting:

"Having the intention to encourage letters, and the arts and sciences, which so eminently contribute to the glory of nations;

"Desiring not only that France should maintain the superiority which she has acquired in the arts and sciences, but that the present century, now commencing, shall surpass all those which have preceded it;

"Wishing also to become acquainted with those men, who will have coutributed most largely towards letters, and the arts and sciences;

"We have decreed and do decree that which follows:

"Art. I. Every ten years, on the anniversary of the 18th Brumaire, there shall be a distribution of great prizes, to be given by our own hand, at the place, and with the solemnities, hereafter to be determined on.

"II. All the works of science, literature and art, all the useful inventions, all the establishments devoted to the progress of agriculture, or to the increase of the national industry, published, made known, or instituted in an interval of ten years, the term of which shall precede by one year the time of distribution, may strive to obtain the great prize.

"III. The first distribution of great prizes will take place on the 18th Brumaire, year xviii; and conformably with the preceding article, all the works, inventions, or establishments, published or made known during the interval between the 18th Brumaire of the year vii, to the 18th Brumaire of the year xvii, will be comprised in the list.

"IV. Some of these great prizes will be of the value of 10,000 francs, the others of the value of 5,000 francs.

"V. The great prizes of the value of 10,000 francs will be nine in number, and adjudged:

"1st. To the authors of the two best scientific works: the one for physical, the other for mathematical science;

"2nd. To the author of the best history, or the best portion of history, whether ancient or modern;

"3rd. To the inventor of the most useful machine for the improvement of the arts and manufactures;

"4th. To the founder of the most advantageous establishment in favour of agriculture, or national industry;

"5th. To the author of the best dramatic work, whether comedy or tragedy, represented on the French stage;

"6th. To the authors of the two best works in painting and sculpture, representing any striking action, or memorable event, connected with our history;

"7th. To the composer of the best opera represented on the stage of the Imperial Academy of Music.

"VI. The great prizes of the value of 5,000 francs, will be thirteen in number, and adjudged:

"1st. To the translators of ten manuscripts of the Imperial Library, or of any other libraries in Paris, written in ancient or oriental languages, the most useful in regard to science, history, the belles-lettres, or the arts;

"2nd. To the authors of the three best short poems, taking for a subject some memorable event of our history, or honourable action reflecting *éclat* on the French character.

"VII. These prizes shall be adjudged according to the decision of a jury composed of the four permanent secretaries of the four classes of the Institute, and of the four presidents acting in the year preceding that of the distribution."

Whilst Europe thought Napoleon about to make a descent upon England, Brussels suddenly saw him appear within her walls. He had there appointed to meet Josephine, who was waiting for him at the *Chateau de Lacken*, which had been magnificently prepared for their reception. It was there that Napoleon uttered that remarkable speech with respect to the celebrated Madame de Stael, and which may serve to explain the

hostile position which the authoress of *Corinne* subsequently took up against the Emperor. "I do not like women," said he, "who make themselves men, any more than I like men who render themselves effeminate. In this world, each should act his own assigned part. What is it but vagabondism of the imagination? to what does it lead? Nothing. It is but the metaphysics of sentiment, the disorders of the mind. I cannot endure this woman, mainly, because I do not like women who fling themselves at my head; and God only knows how much she has done this by her flatteries."

The coldness which Napoleon had always felt for Madame de Stael, "kindled into a fierce enmity at finding himself too severely rebuked," to follow the language of the Memorial, and made the great man, in this case, unjust towards women in general, because he had in his own case to complain especially of one. His judgment, generally so certain and correct, was at times false in such matters, from the annoyances and mode of life forced upon him at St. Helena, to which he could not reconcile himself; hence his manner of looking at the moral relation of the sexes, and he persisted in saying, that "a woman was only useful to bear children." "Do you pretend to equality?" said he, in the presence of Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon; "that is nonsense; woman is our property, we are not hers."

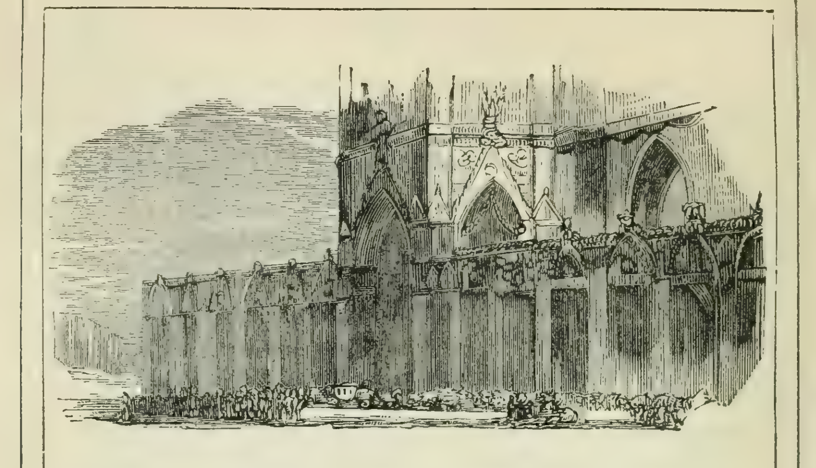
The abode of the Emperor at Lacken was not of long duration He left that beautiful residence to repair to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he remained for some days, detained in a manner by a mysterious sympathy for the capital and the tomb of that conqueror and legislator, whose empire, after the lapse of a thousand years, he restored; and who, like himself, had received a mission to civilize Europe, by the twofold power of his genius and his arms.

From the city of Charlemagne, the trophies of which he wished to transmit to Paris, Napoleon advanced towards Mayence, traversing Cologne and Coblentz. The princes of

the Empire hastened to welcome him, and he profited by the disposition which they manifested to lay the foundation of the Confederation of the Rhine, which he hoped would eventually furnish a barrier for France, against the great powers of the North.

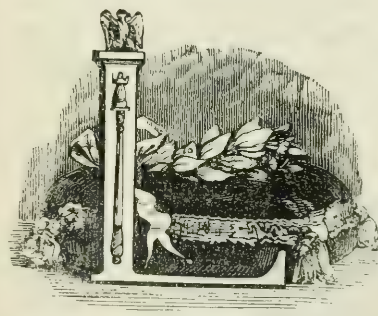
But the homage, sincere or simulated, of princes, and the suffrages of the people, sufficed not for the glorious restorer of the Empire of Charlemagne. The heroic civilizer of the middle ages, had consecrated his power by religion, and Napoleon, not sufficiently noting the difference of the times, wished to support his throne by all the props of which Charlemagne had availed himself. In order that the resemblance should be as complete as possible, he desired the pontifical unction, and he sent, with this object, from Mayence to Rome, a diplomatist, Cafarelli, to induce Pius VII. to crown the Emperor of the French at Paris. While this negociation was in progress, Napoleon ordered from the banks of the Rhine, that two squadrons should sail, one from Rochefort, the other from Toulon, under the command of Admirals Missiesy and Villeneuve. He seemed constantly occupied with maritime expeditions. After three months absence, he returned to the capital, and arrived at St. Cloud about the middle of October.





CHAPTER XVII.

Convocation of the Legislative Body. Verification of the popular votes. Arrival of Pope Pius VII. in France. Coronation of the Emperor.



ONG before the coronation, Cafarelli sent word from Rome, that he had succeeded in his mission. Napoleon was about to seat himself on the throne of the elder sons of the Church, with the solemn assent, and even under the auspices of the head of the Catholic religion. But with the pomps of religion, it was also necessary to unite the display of political representations. The Senate, the Tribunate, and the Council of State might be considered as permanent; the Legislative Body alone required to be convoked some time in advance; which was done by a decree of the 17th October.

The members of the Senate had already taken a separate oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and the president of that body, François de Neufchateau, had even pronounced a speech, in which the following sentence occurred:

"Sire, at some future time, when our children's children, shall in like manner acknowledge as Emperor that one of your grand-children or descendents, upon whom it will fall to receive their oaths of fidelity, and depict to him the sentiments, the will and the wants of the nation, to point out to him his multifarious duties, they will only need say to him, 'You call yourself BONAPARTE; you are the man of France; prince, bear in mind the GREAT NAPOLEON.'"

When the votes of the people on the *senatus consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year XII, had been collected,and the special commission of examination, of which Rœderer was the organ, had determined that "three million, five hundred and seventy-two thousand, three hundred and twenty-nine citizens," had declared their will that the hereditary succession of the imperial dignity should be awarded to the descendants, natural, legitimate or adoptive of Napoleon Bonaparte, or to the natural or legitimate descendants of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, it was also François de Neufchateau who was charged to felicitate Napoleon on this new testimony of the confidence and gratitude which had just been awarded by the French nation. In the midst of the efforts of adulation and academical adornments of which the official speech of the president of the Senate was necessarily composed, the orator knew how to mark the essential distinction, which it was requisite to establish between the imperial monarchy, and ancient royalty, and which was similar to that which existed between the Revolution itself, and the *ancien régime,* since without that, the recent vote of the French nation would have been inexplicable. "The title of Emperor," said he, "has always recalled, not that royalty before which subjects must humble and prostrate themselves; but the great and liberal idea of a first magistrate,

commanding in the name of that law, which the citizens deem it an honour to observe."

Napoleon replied:

"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous voice of the Senate, the people, and the army, has called me, with my heart full of the sentiment of the mighty destinies of that nation, which, from the midst of camps, I first saluted by the name of GREAT.

"From youth upwards, my whole thoughts have been devoted to them; and I owe it to myself now to declare, that my pleasure and my pains are nothing, save reflections of the happiness or the griefs of my people.

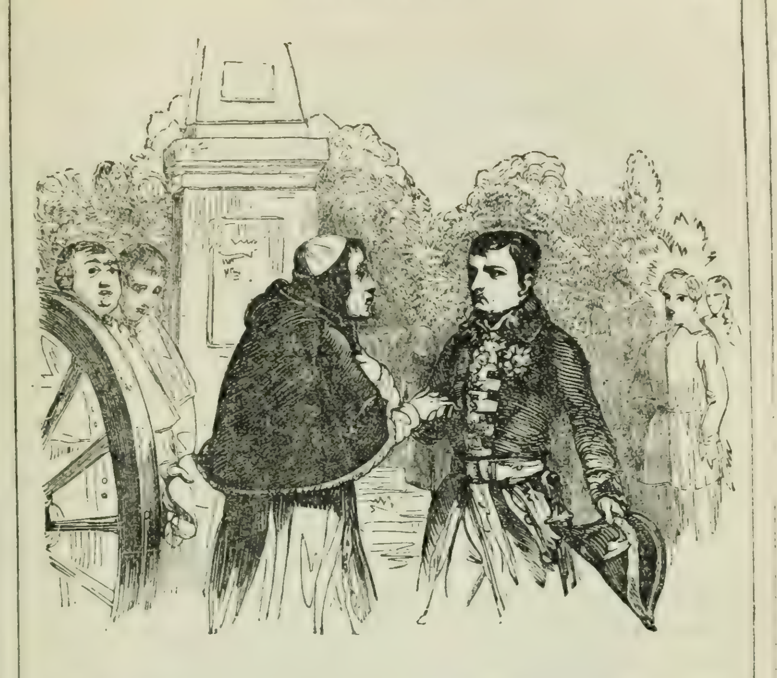
"My descendants shall long preserve this throne, the first in the universe.

"In camps, they will be the foremost soldiers of the army, laying down their lives for the defence of their country.

"As magistrates, they will ever bear in mind, that contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, can be the result only of the weakness and the wavering of princes.

"You, senators, whose counsel and support have never failed me in the most arduous circumstances, you will transmit your spirit to your successors. Be ever the upholders and the nearest councillors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The coronation approached. Pius VII. left Rome early in November, and arrived at Fontainbleau on the 25th. Napoleon, who had got up a hunting party in the direction he was expected to come, met him on the Nemours road. As soon as he perceived him, he dismounted, and the pontiff descended from his carriage; after embracing each other, they took their seats in the same vehicle, and returned to the Imperial palace of Fontainbleau, which had been newly furnished with great magnificence. The Emperor and the Pope had several conferences in this royal residence; they left it on the 28th, and made their entry into Paris on the same day.



The coronation was fixed for the 2nd December; but there was at first some hesitation about the choice of place for it to be performed in. Some suggested the Champ de Mars, others, the Church of the Invalids; Napoleon preferred Notre Dame. The Champ de Mars was too full of revolutionary recollections, to accord with the ceremony in which the Revolution, forgetful of its tempestuous outbreaks, its primitive hatred for kings and priests, sought to justify its monarchical travestie, and to prove to Europe that it could reconcile itself to the unity of power, and the influence of religion. This would have been, in an opposite sense, to repeat in 1804, what had taken place in 1790. But if Pius VII. had too strong a sense of his dignity, to lend himself to an arrangement which would only have made him the parodist of Talleyrand, Napoleon had also a tact too delicate, and too certain to exact any thing of the kind. "They have thought of the Champ de

Mars," said he, "by a reminiscence of the federation; but the times are greatly changed. They have spoken of celebrating the ceremony in the church of Invalids, in consequence of the warlike recollections which are attached to it; but those of Notre Dame are infinitely better: they are much greater, they are also the recollections which speak more to the imagination; they will give a more august character to the ceremony." (*Pelet de la Lozère*).

On the day fixed, Pius VII. appeared at Notre Dame, followed by a numerous clergy, and preceded, according to the Roman custom, by a mule, which excited much laughter among the Parisians, and which interrupted for some moments the gravity of the march of the pontifical *cortége.* The Emperor came after the Pope. All the military and civil illustrations were there; and the *éclat* of personal glory, mingled with that of all ranks and dignities. The pomp of the insignæ and of costume, the parade of the carriages and horses, splendid liveries, the affluence of spectators attracted from all parts of the Empire, all contributed to make this solemnity a spectacle of dazzling magnificence. The nation was represented at Notre Dame by the presidents of departments, the presidents of electoral colleges, the deputies of the different administrations, the army, the Legislative body, and the other great bodies of the state. The Pope officiated. As to the Emperor, in presenting himself at the altar, he waited not for the pontiff to crown him; but taking himself the diadem from the hands of the Pope, he placed it on his head, and immediately afterwards crowned the Empress.

The day after this great solemnity, there was a review, in the Champ de Mars, followed by a distribution of the Imperial Eagles to the different *corps* of the army. The Emperor, seated on a throne, which had been prepared for him in the military school, made this distribution in person. At a signal given, the troops moved, and approached him. "Soldiers," said he to them, "there are your standards; these eagles will



always serve you for a rallying point: they will be wherever your Emperor deems it necessary they should appear for the defence of his throne and his people.

"You swear to sacrifice your life to defend them, and constantly to maintain them by your courage, in the road to honour and victory."

The soldiers replied with unanimous acclamations: "We swear!"

The senate and the town of Paris afterwards wished to consecrate the epoch of the coronation by festivals given to the Emperor and Empress. The municipal council of the



capital also presented on this occasion an address of felicitations to the Emperor, who made the following reply:

"Gentlemen of the municipal body, I have repaired hither in order to give to the good town of Paris the assurance of my special protection. Under all circumstances, I should make it a pleasure and a duty to bestow upon it every possible mark of my benevolence; for, I wish you to know that in battle, in the greatest peril, on the ocean, and even in the midst of deserts, I have always had in view the opinion of this great capital of Europe, only second to the all-powerful suffrage of posterity."

Pius VII. had remained in Paris during all these festivals. He had come to France in the hope of making his condescension serve, not only the interests of religion, but also those of his temporal sovereignty. It was therefore natural that he should prolong his stay near Napoleon, as long as he judged it



Napoleon.—Emperor.

necessary for the realization of the hopes which he had conceived. We shall see, presently, if these hopes were well-founded, and whether the Emperor, in lavishing on the Roman pontiff so many marks of respect, and testimonies of gratitude for the holy unction which he had received from him, ever had the idea of sacrificing to his gratitude the principles and interests of the French policy in Italy.

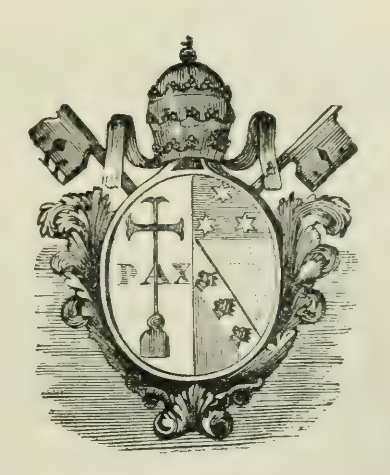
De Bourrienne in his Memoirs of Napoleon, relates an anecdote of the Empress Josephine, referring to the day of the coronation, which was related to him by the Empress herself, and admirably paints the character of the Emperor.

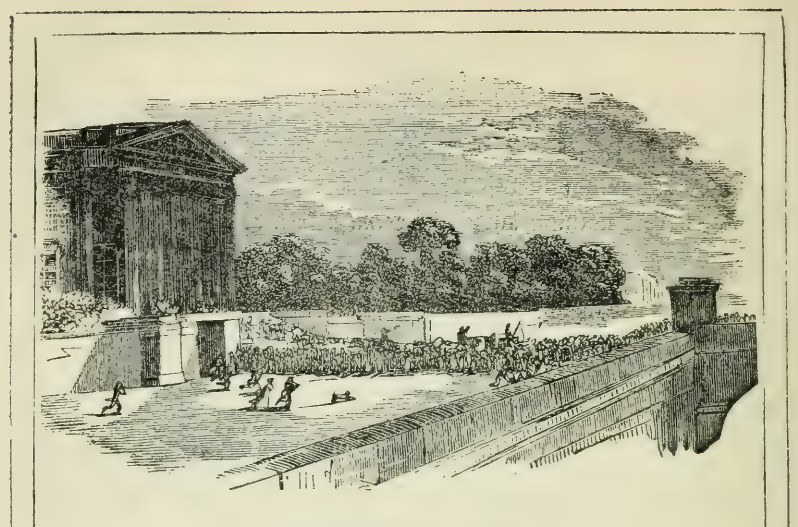
"Many years before, at the time when Bonaparte paid his addresses to Madame de Beauharnais, neither of the parties kept a carriage, and the General, who was most deeply enamoured of Josephine, often gave her his arm, while they made visits to her men of business. On one of these occasions, they went together to the notary Raquideau, one of the most remarkable little men I have ever seen. Madame Beauharnais having great confidence in this *brief-writer*, had gone intentionally on that day, for the purpose of informing him of her resolution to take, for better and for worse, the young General of artillery—the *protegé* of Barras. Josephine, alone, had entered the cabinet, leaving the General in the office, where the clerks wrote. The door of Raquideau's private room, having been left ajar, Bonaparte heard him very distinctly using all his endeavours to dissuade his client from the marriage she was about to contract.

"'You are very wrong,' said he, among other things, 'and will repent your imprudence; you are going to marry a man who has nothing but *his cloak and his sword*.'

"'Bonaparte,' continued the Empress, after having related the foregoing particulars, 'never spoke to me on this subject, nor had I the slightest suspicion that he had overheard the remarks of Raquideau: only think, therefore, Bourrienne, what was my astonishment, when on the day of the coronation,

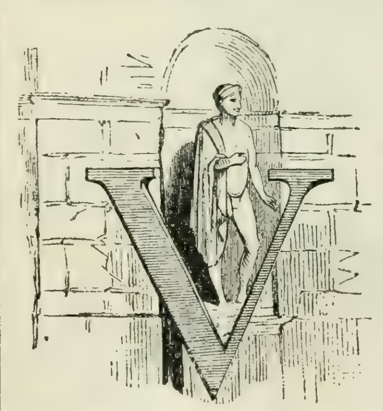
in the imperial robes, he said, 'Call Raquideau; let him come here instantly; I want to speak with him.' Raquideau was quickly brought before him, whom he then asked—'Well! now have I nothing but *a cloak and a sword?*'"





CHAPTER XVIII.

Session of the legislative body. Inauguration of the Statue of Napoleon. Letter of the Emperor to the King of England. Reply of Lord Mulgrave. Communication from the Senate.



VERY soon after the coronation, the Emperor opened the session of the legislative body. "Princes, magistrates, soldiers, citizens," said he, "in our career we have all but one single aim; the interest of the country. If this throne, on which Providence and the will of the nation have seated me, is dear in my eyes, it is because it can alone defend and preserve the most sacred interests of the French people.

"The weakness of supreme power, is the most frightful calamity of nations. As soldier, and First Consul, I had but one thought; as Emperor I have none other; the prosperity

of France. I have been fortunate enough to illustrate it by victories, to consolidate it by treaties, to snatch it from civil discords, and to prepare the regeneration of manners, society, and religion. If death do not surprise me in the midst of my labours, I hope to leave a remembrance to posterity, which shall for ever serve either as an example or a reproach to my successors.

"My minister of the interior will make you acquainted with the position of the Empire."

M. de Champagny, in effect, fulfilled this brilliant and easy task. He described the calm, the greatness and the prosperity of France, after so many troubles; the priests and the pastors of different faiths, united in the same love for their country, in a common admiration of Napoleon; the new legislation universally celebrated as a blessing; the law-schools about to open; the Polytechnic School, peopling the arsenals, the ports and the workshops with useful subjects; the school



of Arts and Trades at Compiegne obtaining every day fresh success; French genius causing *chef d'œuvres* in every branch

of science, letters and arts, by the institution of decennial prizes; the administration of bridges and roads pursuing with confidence the works commenced, and planning new ones; a second town rising in La Vendée (Napoléon Vendée) to become there a source of new improvements, the centre of an active and certain *surveillance;* commerce restored to the left bank of the Rhine by the decree of the Emperor and giving to Mentz or Mayence and Cologne all the advantages of real *entrepôts,* without risk of the fraudulent tricks common in the interior of France; her manufactures perfecting themselves; her industry extending over her own soil, and driving English commerce far from her frontiers, after having succeeded in equalling that which constituted the glory and success of this nation, the perfection of its machines; agriculture aggrandizing and illustrating itself, in fine, genuine wealth increased at all points of the Empire. The result of this picture was, as the minister proved, that the number of the indigent in the capital, was thirty-two thousand below that which existed in 1794, and twenty-five thousand below that of the year x.

The exposition of her colonial situation was less prosperous on account of the maritime war. As to her diplomatic relations with the continental powers, they were apparently amicable; but, we repeat it, this was but a false peace, which always tended to war.

In reply to this communication, the legislative assembly proceeded in a body, and in full costume, on the 2nd January, 1805, to the audience of the Emperor, to present to him an address, in which the president, M. de Fontanes, notwithstanding the murmurs of the majority of his colleagues, adopted the ancient formula of "very faithful subjects." Some days after, the statue of Napoleon, executed by Chaudet, was inaugurated in the place of the sittings of the deputies; and M. de Vaublanc, questor of that body, taking upon himself to speak at this ceremony, in presence of the Emperor

and Empress, and the principal personages of the Empire, commenced thus, the historical eulogy of its hero:

"Gentlemen,

"You have signalized the achievement of the Civil Code, by an act of admiration and gratitude. You have decreed a statue of the illustrious prince, whose will, firm and constant, has accomplished this great work, at the same time that his vast intelligence has shed the most brilliant light on this noble branch of human institution. First Consul then, Emperor of the French now, he appears in the temple of the laws, the head, adorned with that triumphal crown with which Victory has so often encircled his brows, presaging the diadem of kings.

"If praise corrupts feeble minds, it is the natural element of great souls; what man save Napoleon so well merits from his contemporaries, and from posterity, the supreme honour which you have decreed to him this day?"

M. de Fontanes also had his turn, and the praise which proceeded from his lips was not less skilful or magnificent. "Glory," said he, "at present obtains its merited recompense, and power, at the same time, receives the most noble instructions. It is not to the great captain, it is not to the conqueror of so many nations that this monument is erected: the legislative body consecrates it to the restorer of the laws. Trembling slaves, enchained nations, do not humble themselves at the feet of that statue; but a generous people recognizes there with pleasure, the features of their deliverer.

"Perish the monuments raised by pride and flattery! but let gratitude always honour those which are the reward of heroism and national benefits."

The legislative body terminated its session. The closing speech was pronounced by M. de Segur, councillor of state, who after having recalled in his retrospect and under a new form, the wonders celebrated by Lacépède, François de Neufchateau, Vaublanc, Fontanes, etc., recommended to the

deputies, the words which the Emperor himself had pronounced at the opening of that session, "Princes, magistrates, soldiers, citizens; we have all but one single object, the interest of the country."

But Napoleon had considered that that interest demanded before every thing, a peace solid and durable, a peace truly European, from which England should not be excepted. Forgetful then of the little success which on a former occasion, the First Consul's letter had met with from George III., he renewed as Emperor, his pacific efforts.

"Sir, my brother," he wrote to him on the 2nd January, 1805, "called to the throne by Providence, and by the suffrages of the Senate, the people and the army, my first desire is a wish for peace. France and England may strive against each other for centuries. But doing so, will their governments fulfil their most sacred duties? And will not their consciences accuse them with so much blood uselessly shed, and without the prospect of any advantage? I feel it no dishonour to make the first advance; I think I have sufficiently proved to the world, that I do not fear any chance of war; it presents to me nothing that I ought to fear. Peace is the desire of my heart, but war has never opposed to my glory."

Napoleon received no direct reply, the King of England contented himself by appointing Lord Mulgrave to write a very vague letter to M. de Talleyrand, which the Emperor laid before the Senate, with a copy of that which he had himself addressed to George III. "His majesty," said Lord Mulgrave, has received the letter which was sent to him by the HEAD of the French Government.

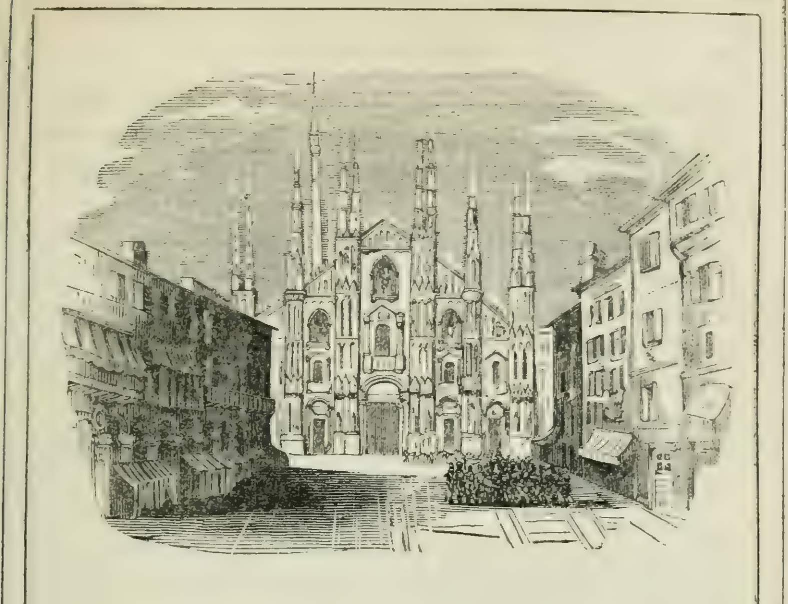
"His majesty has no object more at heart, than to seize the first opportunity of restoring to his subjects the advantages of a peace founded on a basis which should be compatible with the permanent safety, and the essential interests of his kingdom. His majesty is persuaded that this blessing can only be obtained by arrangements which may at the same time

provide for the future tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the renewal of the dangers and misfortunes, in which it is at present involved. Conformably with this sentiment, his majesty feels that it is impossible for him to reply more particularly to the overture which has been made to him, until he shall have had time to communicate with the powers of the continent, with whom he is engaged by *liaisons* and confidential relationships, and particularly with the Emperor of Russia, who has given the most striking proofs of the wisdom and elevation of mind by which he is animated, and of the lively interest he takes in the safety and independence of Europe."

Despite the efforts of the English diplomatist to say nothing decisive, as to the true feeling of the cabinet of London towards France, the reply we have just quoted sufficiently indicates that they were not pacific. What indeed, signified this affected refusual to give Napoleon the title which the French people had decreed him, which the Pope had consecrated, which all continental and princely Europe had recognized ? What indeed were the indispensable arrangements afterwards made for the future safety of Europe, and which were alone capable of preventing a renewal of the past misfortunes? And these confidential relations with the powers of the continent, especially with the Emperor of Russia, against whom had they been formed ? The whole of this reply, in appearance so moderate and indecisive, displayed and characterized the stubborn ideas of the cabinet of St. James's, the spirit of Burke and of Pitt, the well-concerted system for making war against France, openly, or by secret intrigues, as long as this nation refused to give any pledges of tranquillity to ancient Europe by abjuring her new doctrines, and by casting down her new institutions to return to the *ancien régime.* Napoleon understood this, and gave the greatest publicity to this correspondence, which justified his preparations, and sufficed to verify this judicious remark of

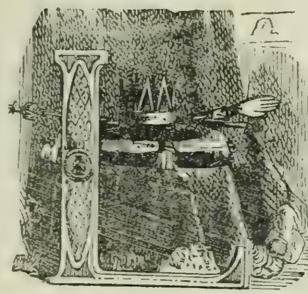
M. Bignon, and which was applicable to the subsequent wars, that "war against the Emperor was always war against the Revolution."





CHAPTER XIX.

Napoleon proclaimed King of Italy. Departure from Paris. Sojourn at Turin. Monument at Marengo. Entry into Milan. Re-union of Genoa with France. Fresh oaths. Journey to Italy. Return to France.



UCKILY, the communication made to the Senate by Talleyrand, in the Emperor's name, had fore-warned France. Hereafter Napoleon in the opinion of the public, was secure against the reproach of having desired the continuation of the maritime, or of having given rise to the continental war, if it should happen to break out.

Pius VII. was still at Paris. He beheld the deputies of

the electoral colleges, and of the constituent bodies of the Italian Republic arrive there, to lay the desire of their nation at the feet of the Emperor, and to proclaim Napoleon, King of Italy.

Melzi, vice-president of the Republic, was the organ of the deputation; he presented himself, on the 17th March, 1805, at the solemn audience of the Emperor, and there, in presence of the Senate, pronounced a speech which he terminated by this sentence:

"Sire, you wished for the Italian Republic to exist, and it has existed. Desire that the Italian monarchy may be happy, and it will be so."

Napoleon replied:

"Our first wish, while still covered with the blood and dust of the battle-field, was for the re-organization of the Italian states.

"You then considered it necessary for your interests that we should become the head of your government; and now, persisting in the same idea, you desire us to become your first king; the separation of the crowns of Italy and France, which might serve to assure the independence of your descendants would at present be fatal to your existence and tranquillity. I will retain this crown, but only as long as your interests shall require it; and I shall gladly see the moment arrive when I can place it on a younger head, which, animated with my spirit, will continue my work, and be always ready to sacrifice his person and interests to the safety and happiness of the people, over whom Providence, the constitutions of the kingdom, and my will, shall have called him to reign."

It was not without a secret and profound inquietude that the Pope beheld the formation of this new kingdom of Italy, and the authority of Napoleon extend itself to the gates of Rome. The journey to France, especially determined by temporal considerations, had a very different aim to procuring

this formidable neighbourhood. Pius VII., however, dissimulated his dissatisfaction, at least in its exterior manifestations since he consented once more to lend his pontifical ministership to the Imperial family.

A second son was born to Louis Bonaparte, and the Emperor had registered in the archives of the Senate, the fact of the birth of the young prince, whom the constitutions of the Empire eventually called to the throne. The newly-born received the name of Napoleon Louis; he had the Emperor for god-father, and was baptized by the Pope, on the 24th March 1805, in the chateau de Saint-Cloud.



"Voltaire has said—I forget in what place—" remarks De Bourrienne, "'that it is very well kissing the feet of popes provided their hands be tied.' Bonaparte had little esteem for Voltaire, and, probably, was not aware of this irreverent

remark of the philosopher of last century; but he seemed to construe the pleasantry seriously, or at least to act upon the principle. The Pope, or rather the cardinals who advised him, thinking that so great an act of complaisance as a journey to Paris, ought to pay somewhat more than its own expence, otherwise, it was, in their opinion, thrown away, demanded as a recompense the restoration of Avignon and Bologna, with some other territories in Italy. This really was great awkwardness in a court whose policy is usually so fine and so pat to the occasion. To ask the reward after the service had been rendered!—the fable of the stork and the fox! Had the Papal See, *before* the Pope's journey, asked, not Avignon, which most certainly it would not have got, but the Italian territories, Bonaparte might have given these—in order to take them back again. Be this as it may, those tardy claims authoritively rejected, occasioned extreme coldness between the Pope and the Church's eldest son: and the former, after conferring the title of Emperor of the French refused the same consecration to the King of Italy."

The Emperor left Paris, on the 1st April, to repair to Milan with the Empress. He remained three weeks at Turin, and took up his abode in the palace of Stupinice, called the St. Cloud of the kings of Sardinia. The Pope visited him on his way back to Rome, and they had several conferences together, in which Napoleon gave Pius VII. no more right than at their conversations at Fontainbleau, to expect the least cession of territory, in exchange for the holy oil.

On the 8th May, being on the road to Milan, Napoleon wished to visit the field of the battle of Marengo. All the French troops in that part of Italy, were mustered there. Covered with the hat and uniform, which he wore on the day of that memorable conflict, the Emperor passed the army in review. "It was remarked," says Bourrienne, "that the worms, who spare neither the costume of living kings, nor the bodies of deceased heroes, had been busy with these

trophies of Marengo, which, nevertheless, Bonaparte wore at the review."



Napoleon did not continue his route, until after he had laid the first stone of the monument consecrated to those who had been slain on this battle-field, and on the same day, he made his entry into Milan.

Those historians most prejudiced against Napoleon, are all agreed that this capital gave him a reception as brilliant as any

of which he had been the object in France, after Leoben and Marengo. The enthusiasm of the Italians was at its height.

Napoleon occupied the palace of Mouza, where Durazzo, the last doge of Genoa, came to beg of him to unite the Ligurian Republic with the French Empire.

Napoleon replied:

"Monsieur le doge, and gentlemen, the deputies of the senate and people of Genoa,

"Liberal ideas, could have alone given to your government the splendour which it formerly boasted; but I have long since been convinced of the impossibility of your performing, unaided, any thing worthy of the dignity of your fathers.

"Every thing is changed: the new principles with respect to the legislation of the seas which the English have adopted, and obliged the greater part of Europe to recognize; the right of blockade which they can extend to the various ports, and which is nothing less than the right to destroy at pleasure the commerce of nations; the constantly increasing ravages of the Moors, all these circumstances tended to destroy your independence. Posterity will believe that I have desired to render the commerce of the sea unshackled, and compel the barbarians not to make war on feeble vessels. I was animated solely, by the interest and dignity of man. At the treaty of Amiens, England refused to co-operate with these liberal ideas.

"Where no maritime independence exists among a commercial people, the want is felt of unity. I will realize your wish I will unite you with my great nation."

This junction was in fact immediately executed, and the doge of Genoa became a French senator.

The consecration of Napoleon as King of Italy, took place on the 26th May, in the cathedral of Milan. Cardinal Caprara, archbishop of this capital, officiated. He brought the ancient iron crown to the Emperor, who, repeating the part which he had acted at Paris, placed it himself upon his



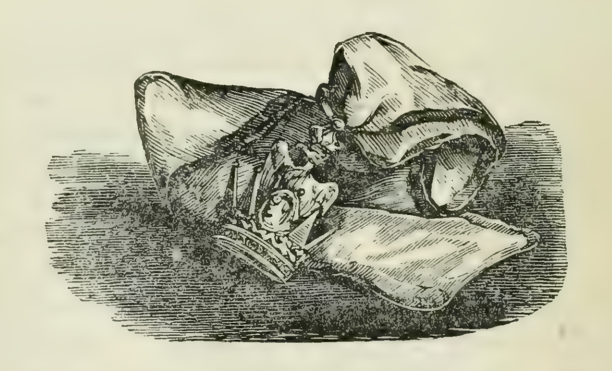
head, exclaiming: " *Dieu me l'a donné, gare à qui la touche**! "

But the court of Vienna, still more than the Holy See, had reason to be jealous of the establishment of the French dominion in Italy. It was a private grievance which she had to add to the general grievances which the ancient monarchies of Europe maintained with a religious perseverance, in order to make use of them, at the proper moment against the revolutionary government of France. Napoleon, who constantly awaited the explosion of the hatreds and discontentments, which his elevation, and the prosperity of the Empire could not fail to reanimate amongst the old enemies of the French Revolution, occupied himself, henceforth, more than ever, in maintaining and increasing the devotion and enthusiasm of the people subjected to his power. He traversed, with Josephine, the kingdom of Italy, and on their journey, they excited universally the strongest acclamations. Genoa, among others, gave the illustrious travellers a superb *fête*. Before quitting

* God has given it me, woe to him who touches it.

Milan, Napoleon fulfilled the promise which he had made to the Italians; he gave them a viceroy, and fixed his choice on Eugéne Beauharnais. He subsequently instituted the order of the *Couronne-de-Fer*, and organized the university of Turin.

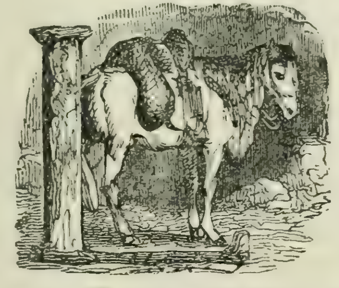
Napoleon and Josephine having resumed the road to France, arrived on the 14th July, at Fontainbleau, repairing thence to Paris and St. Cloud. But circumstances did not long permit the Emperor to enjoy his glory peaceably, and it was in his fate, for his grandeur to increase, at the expence of his repose.





CHAPTER XX.

Departure of Napoleon for the camp of Boulogne. Muster of the French troops on the frontiers of Austria. Return of the Emperor to Paris. Restoration of the Gregorian calender. The expected war with Austria demonstrated to the Senate, who order a levy of eighty thousand men. The Emperor sets out for the army. Campaign of Austerlitz.



ONG had not elapsed before the moment foreseen by Napoleon approached; secret hostilities were about to be changed into open war; the Emperor again quitted his capital in the month of August, to repair to the camp at Boulogne and inspect the army drawn up on the coast.

This voyage lasted only a month, during which the Emperor gave the order to assemble eighty thousand men on the frontiers of Austria.

On his return to Paris, Napoleon thought in the midst of his warlike occupations of re-establishing the Gregorian calendar. This was a consequence of the governmental system which he had adopted, of the title which he had taken; the republican era was incompatible with the assemblage of

monarchical institutions with which Napoleon subsequently surrounded himself wherever his power penetrated. However, the division of the year, fixed by the national convention, had been based on scientific calculations; no matter, it was for science again to demonstrate the necessity of returning to the old calendar, and La Place undertook to restore the work of Rome. It is but just to observe that this able statesman thought it requisite to impute the greatest value of the Gregorian calendar to its universality, in order to dispel the years which the proposed change might inspire as to the re-establishment of the old system. The speech of the government orator, Regnault de St. Jean d' Angely, is particularly deserving of attention, tending as it did to induce the senate to regard the project submitted to their notice, as merely transitory. "Doubtless," said he, "a day will come, when Europe, calmed, restored to peace, to her useful conceptions, to her sage studies, will feel the want of perfecting social institutions, of bringing nations together by rendering these institutions common to them, thus enabling her to perpetuate any remarkable era, by means of a more perfect and general method of measuring time.

"Then a new calendar might be formed for all Europe, for the political and commercial universe, from the perfected remains of that which France now renounced, in order not to become isolated in the midst of Europe."

Europe, however, obstinately persisted in keeping France isolated, in spite of the re-establishment of so many of the institutions common to the ancient states, because she clearly perceived that this species of counter-revolution operating on French society, constituted only a political and temporary disguise, leaving the social revolution possessed of all its actual power, all its democratic force. Consequently, ten days after the council had subsituted the calendar of the old system for that of the Republic, Napoleon was forced to acquaint the senate with the hostile conduct of Austria and Russia, and to

announce his approaching departure for the army. " Senators," said he, " in the present state of Europe, I feel the want of your advice, and how requisite it is to make you acquainted with my sentiments.

" I am about to quit my capital to place myself at the head of my army, in order that I may render prompt assistance to my allies, and defend the dearest interests of my people.

" The desire of the eternal enemies of the continent is accomplished, the war has commenced in the heart of Germany. Austria and Russia have united with England, and the present generation is again plunged in all the calamities of war. A few days back, I had hoped that the peace would not be interrupted; but the Austrian army has passed the Inn, Munich is invaded, the Elector of Bavaria is driven from his capital. All my hopes have fallen to the ground.

" The wickedness of the enemies of the Continent is now developed. They still feared the manifestation of my ardent desire for peace; they feared that Austria, at sight of the gulf which they had dug under her feet, would return to sentiments of justice and moderation. They have incited her to war, I groan for the blood which it will cost Europe; but it will be the means of adding new lustre to the French name.

" Senators, when, at your desire, at the voice of the whole nation of France, I placed on my head the Imperial crown, I received from you, from all the citizens, a pledge to maintain it pure and spotless. My people have awarded me, under all circumstances, proofs of their confidence and love. They will fly to range themselves under the colours of their Emperor and his army, which, in a few days will have passed the frontiers.

" Magistrates, soldiers, citizens, all wish to maintain the country free from the influence of England, who, if she prevailed, would grant us nothing save an ignominious and shameful peace, and of which the principal conditions would be, the burning of our fleets, the closing of our ports, and the annihilation of our industry.

"All the promises which I have made to the French nation, have been kept. The French people, on their part, have entered into no engagement with me, which they have not surpassed. Under the present circumstances, so important for their glory and for mine, they will continue to merit the name of GREAT NATION, with which I saluted them in the midst of the field of battle.

"Frenchmen! your Emperor will do his duty, my soldiers will do theirs, you will do likewise."

The senate replied to this appeal of the Emperor, by voting a levy of eighty thousand men, and the re-organization of the national guard. The Tribunate also wished to perform some act of zeal and devotion. They hastened to lay at the foot of the throne, the expression of the feelings of indignation with which they were impressed, at the hostile movements of Russia and Austria. The authorities of the capital also considered that it would not become them to remain silent in such weighty conjunctures. Frochot, the prefect of the Seine, at the head of the municipal body, came to present the Emperor with the keys of Paris, as the ancient symbol of the submission and devotion of that city. "If it is true, as reported," said this magistrate, "that it is your person which is the object of their hatred, that it is the independance of the nation, and our liberties, which they aim at, order that our preparations for defence be proportioned to the importance of such a cause. Wherever it may be requisite to march, be assured that all will soon be ready to follow, to serve, and to avenge you."

However great the stress laid upon the compulsory demonstrations of the great bodies of the state, and upon the suspicious character of the official harangues, it is certain that the orators whose words we have hitherto quoted, did but express, under more or less brilliant forms, the true sentiments of France. Thus assured of the national concurrence, Napoleon left Paris on the 24th September, establishing his head-



quarters at Strasburg, and on the 29th published the following proclamation, addressed to the army:

"Soldiers!

"The war of the third coalition has commenced. The Austrian army has crossed the Inn, violated the treaties, and driven our ally from his capital. Yourselves have even been compelled to hasten by forced marches, to defend our frontiers. Already you have passed the Rhine, and we will not halt until we have secured the independence of the Germanic body, succoured our allies, and humbled the pride of the unjust aggressors. We will no longer make peace without pledges, our generosity shall not again be opposed to policy.

"Soldiers, your Emperor is in the midst of you. You are but the advance-guard of the great nation; if necessary, the whole country will rise at my voice, to confound and dissolve this new league, which the hatred and the gold of England have raised against me.

"But, soldiers, we shall have forced marches to perform, fatigues and privations of all kinds to endure; whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will vanquish, and we will not rest until we have planted our eagles on the territory of our enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

The Emperor, having passed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 1st October, slept the same evening at Ettelingen, where he received the Elector and the princes of Baden, and afterwards took the direction of Louisburg, where he lodged in the palace of the Elector of Wurtemberg.

On the 6th the French army entered Bavaria, after having evaded the mountains of the Black Forest, and the line of parallel rivers which fall into the valley of the Danube. The Austrians, after invading the Bavarian states during the peace, had thought to advance towards the entrance of the Black Forest, in order to dispute the passage of the French army, when they already found themselves menaced in the rear.



On the same day, the Emperor addressed a proclamation to

the Bavarian soldiers: "I have placed myself at the head of my army," said he to them, "in order to deliver your country from the most unjust oppressors. As a faithful ally of your sovereign, I have been affected by the marks of love you have evinced towards him under these important circumstances. I know your bravery ; I flatter myself that after the first battle, I shall be able to tell your prince and my people, that you are worthy of fighting in the ranks of the great army."

The next day, the first engagement took place. The bridge of Lech, vainly defended by the enemy, was carried by two hundred dragoons of Murat's corps. Colonel Wattier charged at the head of these brave fellows.

On the 8th, Marshal Soult, who had already signalized himself in this campaign by the occupation of Donawert, set out for Augsburg.

However, Murat, at the head of three divisions of cavalry, managed to cut off the road from Ulm to Augsburg. Having met the enemy at Wertingen, he attacked him briskly, and, supported by Marshal Lannes, who came up with the Oudinot division, after two hours fighting, he forced the Austrian detachment, consisting of twelve battalions of grenadiers, to lay down their arms. The Emperor, himself, wished to make the prefect and mayors of the city of Paris acquainted with this brilliant feat of arms, by sending them the flags and two pieces of cannon taken from the enemy, to be placed in the Hotel de Ville. The letter was dated the 10th October, from the head-quarters at Augsburg. Marshal Soult had entered this town the preceding evening, with the divisions Vandamme, St. Hilaire, and Legrand.

The Emperor, on reviewing the dragoons at the village of Zumnershausen, ordered one named Marente, to be presented to him, who, at the passage of the Lech, had saved his captain, although the latter had a few days before, degraded him from his rank of sub-officer. Napoleon gave this brave man the eagle of the Legion of Honour, who replied: "I have only

performed my duty. My captain had degraded me for some faults of discipline, but he knows that I have always been a good soldier."



The conduct of the dragoons at the battle of Wertingen, was not less worthy of admiration than at the bridge of Lech. The Emperor had a dragoon from each regiment led before him, and gave them, like Marente, the eagle of the Legion of Honour. When Excelmans, the leader of a squadron, aide-de-camp to Murat, and who had had two horses killed under him during the day, brought the flags taken from the Austrians to head-quarters, Napoleon said to him: "I am sure it is impossible to be braver than you are; I appoint you an officer of the Legion of Honour."

Twenty-four hours, only, after the battle of Wertingen, the bridge of Guntzburg, defended by the arch-duke Ferdinand in person, was carried with the bayonet by a regiment (the 59th) of the division Malheı, of the *corps* of Marshal Ney.

Colonel Lacuée, who fought with the greatest intrepidity at the head of this regiment, fell on the field of battle.

The Austrians were now retreating on all sides, and the French army in pursuing them; executed such skilful manœuvres, that their communications were almost entirely cut off. "A decisive affair is about to take place," said the fifth bulletin; "the Austrian army is almost in the same position as was the army of Melas at Marengo.

"The Emperor was on the bridge of Lech, when the division of General Marmont defiled before him. He made each regiment form in a circle, and spoke to them of the



situation of the enemy, of the certainty of a great battle, of the confidence which he had in them. This harangue was delivered in the most dreadful weather; a heavy snow was falling, the troops were up to the knee in mud, and suffering from excessive cold. But the words of the Emperor were like wild-fire; in listening, the soldier forgot his fatigues and privations, and became impatient for the moment of battle."

On the 14th October, the capital of Bavaria was freed: Marshal Bernadotte entered there at six o'clock in the morning, after having driven prince Ferdinand from the place, who left eight hundred prisoners in the power of the conqueror.

Almost at the same time, a French division, under the

orders of General Dupont, and only six thousand men strong, successfully resisted the garrison of Ulm, consisting of twenty-thousand, and made fifteen hundred prisoners at the battle of Albeck.

The Emperor came himself to the camp before Ulm, on the 13th October. He ordered the occupation of the bridge, and of the position of Elchingen, so as to facilitate the investment of the hostile army.

Marshal Ney crossed this bridge on the 14th, at day-break, and carried the position of Elchingen, in spite of the most determined resistance. On the following day, the Emperor reappeared before Ulm. Murat, Lannes and Ney placed themselves in order of battle to commence the assault, whilst Soult occupied Biberach, and Bernadotte pursued his success beyond Munich, completing the rout of General Kienmayer. At the camp of Ulm, the soldiers were knee-deep in mud, and for eight days the Emperor did not unboot.



On the 17th, Mack prevented the assault and capitulated. The whole of the garrison remained prisoners.

Napoleon looked upon the battle of Elchingen as one of the finest feats of arms that could be quoted. It was from the head-quarters, which he had carried on this glorious field of battle, that he wrote on the 18th to the Senate, in order to present them with forty flags taken by the French army in the various battles which had succeeded that of Wertingen: "Since my entry on this campaign," said he, "I have dispersed an army of a hundred thousand men. I have taken nearly the half of them prisoners; the rest have either deserted, are killed, wounded, or reduced to the greatest consternation. The primary object of the war is already fulfilled; the Elector of Bavaria is re-established on his throne. The aggressors have been struck as by a thunderbolt, and assisted by Divine Providence, I hope in a short time to triumph over all my enemies." He addressed the same day, circulars to the bishops of the empire, to invite them to sing a *Te Deum.* "The dazzling victories which our armies have just obtained," said he, "against the unjust league formed by the hatred and the gold of England, renders it necessary that my people should address their thanks to the god of armies for the past, and implore his blessing for the future."

The capitulation of Ulm was completed on the 20th of October. Twenty-seven thousand Austrian soldiers, sixty pieces of cannon, and eighteen generals defiled before the Emperor, who standing on the heights of Elchingen, commanding the Danube, then overflowing its banks with a violence, which had not before been witnessed for a century. Seeing this captive army pass, Napoleon said to the Austrian generals whom he had called around him, "Gentlemen, your master has made an unjust war against me. I frankly avow, I know not why I fight; I know not what is desired of me." Mack replied, that the Emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but had been forced into it by Russia.

"If that is the case," replied Napoleon, "Austria is no longer an independent state."



A fresh proclamation to the army was published at the head-quarters of Elchingen, on the 21st October, it ran thus:

"Soldiers of the grand army,

"In fifteen days we have made a campaign. That which we proposed doing, is accomplished: we have driven the troops of the house of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our ally in the sovereignty of his estates. Yonder army, which with equal ostentation and imprudence, took up its position on our frontiers, is destroyed. But what matters this to England? her object is attained. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidies will be neither more nor less.

"Of a hundred thousand men, who composed this army, sixty thousand are prisoners. They will replace our conscripts in the cultivation of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon, ninety flags, all the generals, are in our power, not fifteen thousand men of this army have escaped. Soldiers, I had announced to you a great battle; but, thanks to the unskilful combinations of the enemy, I have been enabled to

obtain the same success without running equal chances; and what is almost inconceivable in the history of nations, so great a result has only placed fifteen hundred men *hors de combat.*

"Soldiers, this success is due to the unlimited confidence reposed by you in your Emperor, to your patience in supporting fatigue and privations of all kinds, to your rare intrepidity.

"But we will not end here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. This Russian army which English gold has brought from the extremities of the universe, shall shortly meet with the same fate.

"The honour of the infantry is especially attached to this battle; there must be decided for the second time that question which has already been determined in Switzerland and Holland, whether the French infantry hold the first or the second rank in Europe. There are no generals amongst them, against whom I can acquire glory. My sole care will be to obtain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood; my soldiers are my children."

This proclamation was followed by a decree, ordering that the month elapsed, from the 23rd September to the 24th October, should be considered a campaign by the whole army.

The Emperor afterwards quitted Elchingen and took the road to Munich, where he entered on the 24th.

The Austrian army was almost annihilated. Its remains, however, rapidly pursued in its precipitate flight, had still to evince, in divers rencounters, the shock of the French valour and impetuosity. At length, after a march, constantly victorious, and signalized by the battles of Marienzel, Merhenback, Lambach, Lovers, and Amstetten, the grand army arrived before Vienna. On the 10th November, the Emperor established his head-quarters at Molk, and took up his abode in the abbey, one of the finest in Europe. This was a strong position, commanding the Danube, and which the Romans had made one of their most important posts; they called it the Iron Fortress, and it had been erected by Commodus.

Before entering the capital of Austria, the French army, by a most striking action, added a new wreath to its daily triumphs. On the 11th November, six battalions, consisting altogether of four thousand men, and commanded by General Mortier, reached the body of the Russian army at the village of Diernitein, where they expected only to have met with a rear-guard. The inferiority of numbers did not cool the ardour of the French soldiers. From six o'clock in the morning, until four o'clock in the afternoon, these four thousand brave fellows sustained the combat against the Russian army, completely routed it, killed or wounded four thousand men, and made thirteen hundred prisoners.

Two days after this memorable battle, the grand army made its entry into the capital of Austria. Marshal Lannes and General Bertrand were the first to cross the bridge which the enemies' workmen had not been able to burn.

The Emperor would not enter Vienna; he established his head-quarters at the palace of Schœnbrunn, built by Maria-Theresa. Observing, in the cabinet which he chose for his study, a statue in marble representing that sovereign, he said had this great queen lived, she would not have had her country ravaged by Cossacks and Muscovites, nor taken for a counsellor such a woman as Madame Colloredo, a courtier like Cobentzel, a scribe like Collenbach, an intriguing man like Lamberty, and, to command her armies, a general like Mack.

The Austrian court had abandoned the capital, and followed the remains of the army. The authorities still in Vienna, and having at their head M. de Bubna, repaired to Schœnbrunn in order to present the homage of this great city to the Emperor. Napoleon gave the deputation a most favourable reception, and issued an order of the day, in which he commanded to the soldiers the most severe discipline, the most absolute respect for persons and property.

The occupation of Vienna did not stay the course of the



RESTORATION OF THE COLOURS TO THE 76TH.

military events and operations. Murat and Lannes, briskly pursuing the Austro-Russian army, in its retreat towards Moravia, succeeded in coming up with, and beating it two days in succession, the 15th and 16th November, at Hollabrun and at Juntersdorf. Marshal Soult took part in this last affair.

In the mean time, Marshal Ney, charged with invading the Tyrol, acquitted himself of his mission "with his accustomed intelligence and intrepidity," as it is expressed in the twenty-fifth bulletin. After possessing himself of the forts of Schartnitz and Newstark, he entered Inspruck on the 16th November, and found there sixteen thousand muskets, with an immense quantity of powder. Among the brave regiments of his detachment, the 76th stood conspicuous, who had lost two flags during the late war, for which they had felt the deepest affliction. These flags were found again in the arsenal of Inspruck; an officer recognized them; and, when Marshal Ney had them restored to the regiment with becoming solemnity, tears gushed from the eyes of all the veteran soldiers, whilst the young conscripts prided themselves on having contributed to reconquer these insignæ, the loss of which had cost their comrades so much regret.

The Emperor informed of this touching scene, ordered the recollection of it to be preserved by a painting.

The day after the battle of Juntersdorf, the Emperor removed his head-quarters to Znaim, whence, it was successively transferred to Porlitz and to Brunn. The Russians, in their retreat, met with fresh defeats every day. At length, deceived by a retrogade movement which Napoleon performed in order to make them believe that he judged his position perilous, and his army compromised, they stopped, and immediately took the offensive, not comprehending that the leader of the French army only wished so entice them to the spot he had pitched upon for giving them battle. When Napoleon beheld them fall so completely into the snare which

he had spread for them he only sought to keep up their foolish confidence, and sufficiently curbed the impatience of his character to listen with apparent resignation to the in-acceptable proposals of an envoy. On the 1st December, the two armies being in sight of each other, and the battle which had been so well arranged become certain, he assembled his marshals, and shewing them the hostile lines, exclaimed: "Yonder army is mine."—"Soldiers," said he afterwards in a proclamation dated from the bivouac of Austerlitz, "the Russian army presents itself to avenge the Austrian army of Ulm. These are the same battalions which you have beaten at Hollabrun, and which you have since pursued unto this spot.

"The positions occupied by us are formidable; and whilst they march to turn my right, they will expose their flank.

"Soldiers, I shall myself direct all your battalions; if with your accustomed bravery you carry confusion and disorder among the hostile ranks, I shall keep out of the fire; but, if the victory were for a moment uncertain, you would see your Emperor expose himself the first; there can, however, be no doubt respecting the victory, on this day especially, when the honour of the French infantry, the honour of the whole nation is at stake.

"No one is to break the ranks, under pretence of carrying off the wounded; and let every one be impressed with the idea, that it is necessary to conquer these stipendaries of England, who are animated with so profound a hatred for our nation.

"This victory will finish our campaign, and we can return to our winter-quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies which are forming in France; and the peace which I shall then conclude, will be worthy of my people, of you, and of myself."

This was the day preceding the anniversary of the coronation; and in the evening, there was an illumination in the camp to celebrate this festival.

On the next day, the predictions and the hopes of Bona-

parte were accomplished. The military speculations of his genius, seconded by the intelligence and bravery of his lieutenants, as well as by the intrepidity of his soldiers, caused him to gain at Austerlitz one of those decisive victories, which history but rarely presents in the life of the greatest captains, and which Napoleon alone has multiplied in his. The following are the details of this great battle, as thev are given in the thirtieth bulletin.

Battle of Austerlitz.

"On the 6th Frimaire, the Emperor, on receiving the communication from M. M. de Stadion and Giulay, proposed an armistice, in order to spare the shedding of blood, if they desired to arrange matters, and come to a definitive accommodation.

"But it was easy for the Emperor to perceive that they had other projects, and as the enemy could have no hope of success, but from the co-operation of the Russian army, he at once conjectured that the second and third armies had arrived, or were on the point of arriving at Olmutz, and that the negociations were neither more nor less than a *ruse-de-guerre* to baffle his vigilance.

On the 7th at 9 in the morning, a cloud of Cossacks, supported by the Russian cavalry forced the advanced posts of prince Murat, surrounded Vischau, and made fifty dismounted dragoons of the 6th regiment prisoners.

"In the course of the day, the Emperor of Russia repaired to Vischau, and the whole of the Russian army took up a position in the rear of this town.

"The Emperor had sent his aide-de-camp, General Savary to compliment the Russian Emperor, as soon as he knew of the arrival of that prince at the army. General Savary returned at the moment when the Emperor was acknowledging the fire of the hostile encampment at Vischau. He spoke very

highly of his good reception, of the grace and excellent feeling of the Emperor of Russia, and even of the grand-duke Constantine, who paid him every sort of attention; but it was easy to perceive, from the conversations which he held during three days with some thirty puppets, who under different titles, surrounded the Emperor of Russia, that presumption, imprudence, and inconsideration reigned in the decisions of the military, as they had formerly held sway in the political cabinet.

"An army thus conducted, could not fail of committing faults. From this moment the plan of the Emperor was to wait for, and instantly profit by them. He immediately gave the order for his army to retire, withdrew in the night, as though he had experienced a defeat, took up a good position about three leagues in the rear, and made his men ostentatious by labour at fortifying it, and establishing batteries.

"He proposed an interview with the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his aide-de-camp Dolgorouki; the latter easily remarked that the countenances of the French army indicated nothing but reserve and timidity. The placing of strong guards, the hastily-constructed fortifications, all made the Russian officer imagine he beheld an army half-beaten.

"Contrary to the custom of the Emperor, who never received envoys with so much circumspection at his head-quarters, he repaired in person to the out-posts. After the first compliments, the Russian officer wished to lead the conversation to political subjects. He broached every thing with the most inconceivable impertinence; he was profoundly ignorant of the interests of Europe, and of the situation of the Continent. In a word, he was a juvenile trumpet of England. He spoke to the Emperor, as he speaks to the Russian officers, who have been long disgusted with his haughtiness, and wretched management. The Emperor curbed his indignation; and this young man, who had obtained an absolute influence over the Emperor Alexander, returned fully impressed with the idea,

that the French army was on the point of being lost. One may conceive how much the Emperor must have endured,



when told, that, at the end of the conversation, Dolgorouki proposed to cede Belgium, and to transfer the iron crown to the head of one of the most implacable enemies of France. All these different manœuvres produced their effect. The young heads directing the Russian affairs, gave way at once to their natural presumption. The question was no longer how to beat the French army, but to turn and take it; which they affirmed they would have done, but for the cowardice of the Austrians. We are informed that several of the old Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against the Emperor, warned the Council against marching with such confidence to oppose an army, consisting of so many veterans, and officers of the highest merit. They said that they had beheld the Emperor driven into a corner, under the most difficult circumstances, seize the victory by rapid and unforeseen operations, and

destroy the most numerous armies; that here, however, they had obtained no advantage; but that, on the contrary, all the affairs with the rear-guard of the first Russian army had been in favour of the French; but to this reasoning the presumptuous youths opposed the bravery of eighty thousand Russians, the enthusiasm which the presence of their Emperor inspired, the chosen *corps* of the Imperial guard of Russia; and, that which they probably dared not say, their talent, the importance of which, they were astonished the Austrians did not acknowledge.

"On the 10th, the Emperor saw with indescribable joy, from his elevated bivouac, the Russian army, commencing, at about two cannon shots from their advanced posts, a flank movement to turn his right. It then became apparent to him, how grossly presumption, and ignorance of the art of war had misled the councils of this brave army. He said several times: 'Before to-morrow evening, yonder army will be mine.'



"The feeling of the enemy, was, however, quite different; they advanced within pistol-shot of our sentries, and defiled by a flank march on a line of four leagues beyond the French army, which appeared as though it dared not quit its position;

their only fear was that the French should escape them. Every thing was done to confirm the foe in this idea. Prince Murat ordered a small body of cavalry to advance into the plain, but appearing suddenly astonished at the immense strength of the enemy, it returned at full speed. Thus every thing tended to confirm the Russian general in the ill-calculated operation which he had performed. The Emperor ordered the subjoined proclamation to be published. In the evening, he wished to visit incognito and on foot, all the encampments; but scarcely had he set out, when he was recognized. It would be impossible to depict the enthusiasm of the French soldiers on beholding him. Bundles of lighted straw were immediately fixed on the top of thousands of poles, and eighty thousand men presented themselves before the Emperor, saluting him with the greatest acclamations, some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation, others, saying that the army would present the Emperor with his garland to-morrow. One of the oldest grenadiers approached him and said:

"'Sire, you will not need to expose yourself; I promise, in the name of the grenadiers of the army, that you will only have to fight with your eyes; and we will bring you to-morrow the flags and artillery of the Russian army to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation.'

"The Emperor said on entering his bivouac, which consisted of a wretched straw cabin, without a roof, which the grenadiers had made for him:

"'This is the noblest evening of my life; but I regret to think that I shall lose a good number of these brave fellows. I feel, by the pain it causes me, that they are truly my children; and, indeed, I sometimes reproach myself for being thus affected, for I fear it will render me unskilful in making war.' If the enemy could have beheld this spectacle, they would have been overcome. But the fools pursued their movement, and rushed precipitately to their destruction.

"The Emperor immediately made every disposition for the

battle. He ordered Marshal Davoust to depart with all speed, and repair to the convent of Raygern; with one of his divisions and a body of cavalry, he was to keep the left wing of the enemy in check, in order, that at a given moment, it might be surrounded; he gave the command of the left to Marshal Lannes, of the right to Marshal Soult, of the centre to Marshal Bernadotte, and of the whole of the cavalry, which he united on one point, to Prince Murat. The left of Marshal Lannes was supported by Santon, a superb position, which the Emperor had nad fortified, and where he had placed eighteen pieces of cannon. He had entrusted the keeping of this important post to the 17th regiment of light infantry, and, certainly, it could not have been guarded by better troops. The division of General Suchet formed the left of Marshal Lannes; that of General Cafarelli formed his right, which was suoported by the cavalry of Prince Murat. The latter had in front the hussars and *chasseurs* under the orders of General Kellerman, and Valther and Beaumont's divisions of dragoons; and in reserve, Generals Nansouty and d'Haut-poult's divisions of cuirassiers, with twenty-four pieces of light artillery.

"Marshal Bernadotte, that is to say, the centre, had on his left the division of General Rivaud, supported on the right by Prince Murat, and on his right, the division of General Drouet.

"Marshal Soult, who commanded the right of the army, had on his left, the division of General Vandamme, in the centre, the division of General St. Hilaire, on his right the division of the brave General Legrand.

"Marshal Davoust was detached on the right of General Legrand, who guarded the villages of Sokolnitz and Celnitz. He had with him the division of Friant, and the dragoons of the division of General Bourcier. The division Gudin was to march early in the morning for Nicolsburg, to hold in check the hostile *corps* which might have attacked the right.

"The Emperor, with his faithful companion in arms, Marshal Berthier, his first aide-de-camp, colonel-general Junot, and the whole of his staff, formed the reserve, with the ten battalions of his guard, and the ten battalions of General Oudinot's grenadiers, a part of which was conducted by General Duroc.

"This reserve was ranged on two lines, each battalion forming a separate column, out of the range of the artillery, having in the intervals forty pieces of cannon, served by the cannoniers of the guard. It was with this reserve, that the Emperor contemplated marching wherever it might be requisite. It might fairly be said, that the reserve alone was equivalent to an army.

"At one o'clock in the morning, the Emperor mounted his horse, to visit the out-posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy's encampment, and ascertain from his sentries, what they had observed of the movements of the Russians. He learnt that they had passed the night in drunkenness and tumultuous shouting, and that a body of Russian infantry had presented itself before the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division of General Legrand who received orders to reinforce it.

"On the 11th Frimaire, the day broke at last. The sun rose gloriously, and this anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor, on which one of the greatest feats of arms of the age, was about to take place, was one of the finest days of the autumn.

"This battle, which the soldiers persist in calling the day of the Three Emperors, which others call the day of the Anniversary, and which the Emperor has designated the day of Austerlitz, will be for ever regarded as a day of rejoicing by the Great Nation.

"The Emperor, surrounded by all his marshals, waited, to give the final orders, until the horizon was well illuminated. His orders were given with the first rays of the sun, and each marshal rejoined his *corps* at full gallop.

"The Emperor said, as he passed in front of several regiments: 'Soldiers, we must finish this campaign by a thunder-bolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies.' Immediately the hats on the bayonet points, and cries of 'Live the Emperor!' formed the actual signal for battle. A moment after, the cannonading was heard at the extremity of the right line, which the enemy's advance guard were already marching against, but the unexpected rencounter with Marshal Davoust, stopped the foe short, and the battle commenced.

"Marshal Soult, moving at the same moment, marched for the heights of the village of Pringen, with the divisions of Vandamme and St. Hilaire, and entirely cut off the right of the enemy, all whose movements became uncertain. Surprised by a flank march whilst retreating, believing themselves the offensive party, and finding themselves attacked, they already looked upon themselves as half-beaten.

"Prince Murat moved with his cavalry; the left, commanded by Marshal Lannes marched in file, as if to exercise. An overwhelming cannonade commenced throughout the line; two hundred pieces of cannon, and nearly two hundred thousand men, created a fearful uproar; it might be truly designated, a combat of giants. The fight had lasted but one hour, and the whole of the left of the enemy was cut off. Their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two Emperors, who deemed it requisite to order the guard of the Russian Emperor, to march immediately, in order to endeavour to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the Russian Imperial mounted guard, and overthrown; but the Emperor was not far off; he perceived this movement, and ordered Marshal Bessières to repair to the help of his right with his invincibles; and the two guards were soon hand to hand.

"The success could not be doubtful; in a moment the Russian guard was routed. Colonel, artillery, standards, all



were taken. The regiment of the Grand-duke Constantine was annihilated; he himself was indebted for his safety to the speed of his horse.

"From the heights of Austerlitz, the two Emperors beheld the defeat of the whole of the Russian guard. At the same moment, the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced; three of his regiments sustained a very fine charge of cavalry. The left, commanded by Marshal Lannes, gave way three times. All the charges were victorious. The division of General Cafarelli distinguished itself. The divisions of cuirassiers took possession of the enemy's batteries. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the victory was decided, although, throughout, it had not been doubtful for a single moment. Not a man of the reserve had been required, which had taken no part in the action. The cannonade was only

kept up on our right. The main body of the enemy which had been driven from all the heights, now found itself in a level plain on the borders of a lake. The Emperor repaired thither with twenty pieces of cannon; and this body was chased from position to position, presenting at length a horrible spectacle, similar to that which had been beheld at Aboukir; twenty thousand men casting themselves into the water, and drowning themselves in the lakes.

"Two columns, each consisting of four thousand Russians, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners; the whole of the enemy's park was taken. The results of this day are: forty Russian flags, among which are the standards of the imperial guard; a considerable number of prisoners; how many, is not yet ascertained; certainly twenty thousand; twelve or fifteen generals; and at least fifteen thousand Russians left dead on the field of battle. Although the reports have not yet been made, at the first glance we may reckon our loss at eight hundred men killed, and fifteen or sixteen hundred wounded. Military men will not be surprised at this, who know that the slaughter only happens after the rout, and no other body was broken but the battalion of the 4th. Among the wounded are General St. Hilaire, who, struck at the commencement of the action, remained nevertheless, the whole day on the field of battle; he has covered himself with glory; the generals of division Kellerman and Walther, the generals of brigade Valhuber, Thiebaut, Sebastiani, Compan and Rapp, aide-de-camp to the Emperor. It was this last, who, in charging at the head of the grenadiers of the guard, took Prince Repnin, commanding the knights of the Imperial guard of Russia. As to the men who have distinguished themselves, the whole army may be mentioned as having overwhelmed itself with glory. It constantly charged with cries of 'Live the Emperor!' and the idea of celebrating so gloriously the anniversary of the coronation increased the animation of the soldiers.

"The French army, although numerous and fine, was not so large as the hostile force, which consisted of a hundred and five thousand men, of whom eighty thousand were Russians and twenty-five thousand Austrians. The half of this army is destroyed, the rest has been completely routed, and the greater part of the troops have thrown away their arms.



"This day will cost St. Petersburg tears of blood. May it induce her to reject with indignation the gold of England! and may this young prince, whom so many virtues have called to be the father of his subjects, tear himself from the influence of those thirty puppets, so artfully bribed by England, and whose impertinences obscure his intentions, cause him to lose the love of his soldiers, and betray him into the most erroneous operations. Nature, in endowing him with such great qualities, had called him to be the consoler of Europe. Perfidious counsel, by rendering him the auxiliary of England, will place him in history in the rank of those men, who, by perpetuating the war on the Continent, will have consolidated the British tyranny over the sea, and caused the wretchedness of this generation. If France could not obtain peace, but on the conditions which the aide-de-camp Dolgorouki proposed

to the Emperor, and of which M. de Novozilzof had been appointed the bearer, Russia would not obtain them, even though her army were encamped on the heights of Montmartre.

"In a more detailed relation of this battle, the staff will make known that which each corps, each officer, each general have done to illustrate the French name, and render testimony of their love to the Emperor."

After pursuing the enemy, Napoleon passed over the ground on which his victorious troops had fought. It being already dark, he enjoined silence on all around, that the cries of the wounded might not escape his ear, and when a sound of pain was heard, he immediately alighted and ordered brandy to be given to the sufferers. Fires were kindled on the spot where the wounded lay, and the soldiers of the guard were directed not to retire till every wounded soldier was lodged in a hospital. He thus gained the affections of his soldiers, who knew that when they suffered it was not his fault, and who, therefore, never spared themselves in his services. It was past midnight when Napoleon arrived at Brunn. He immediately issued orders for Davoust to collect his corps, pursue the Russians, who were in full retreat on the following day.

Berthier was directed to ascertain the actual losses in the engagement, to visit the hospitals, and, in the name of the Emperor to present every wounded soldier with a napoleon, as the piece of twenty francs was then called, and to distribute among the officers gratuities varying from five hundred to three thousand francs, according to their rank.

Napoleon shortly afterwards issued three decrees; by the first of which pensions were granted to the wounded French soldiers, and the widows and children of those killed. The second ordained that the Russian and Austrian cannon, taken on the field of battle, should be broken up for the purpose of erecting a triumphal column in the Place Vendôme to commemorate the glorious victories of the French army, and by the third all the

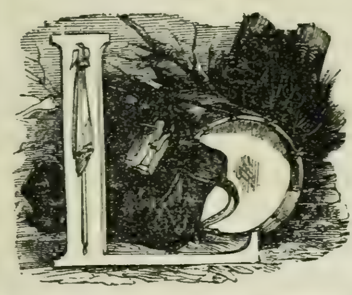
children of the Generals, officers, and soldiers who had fallen in the engagement, were thenceforth to be considered the adopted children of the Emperor, and to be provided for by the State.





CHAPTER XXI.

Results of the battle of Austerlitz. Battle of Trafalgar. Peace of St. Petersburg. Dethronement of the Bourbons at Naples. Bavaria created a kingdom. The flags of Austerlitz sent to Paris. Return of Napoleon to France.



EAVING the scene of carnage, let us turn our eyes to the state of Europe. Royalty and aristocracy humiliated in the persons of the Emperors of Germany and Russia, were in the utmost consternation to learn that the new coalition had again found at Austerlitz the same nation as at Zurich and at Marengo. It appears to us that Providence, causing a similitude in the epochs, had fixed on the anniversary of the coronation, for the first decisive triumph of Napoleon, as if to testify to the world, that the soldiers of the Empire still continued to prosecute worthily the work of the Republican phalanxes; that monarchical pomp had no more altered the morals of the people and the

army, than the genius of their chief, and that the Revolution, always heroic and always invincible, had not ceased to reign in France.

This great reverse, which immediately effected Russia and Austria, alone, but which was nevertheless severely felt at Berlin and London, did not correct the instigators of the war. It was not for a secession of territory, for material interests, for special and accidental grievances, that they had urged the most powerful monarchies of Europe again to enter the arena of combats. With them the cause of the war was a question of principles, although less precise and less absolute than a territorial or financial question; it was this that made Napoleon pretend to misunderstand it, and say to the Austrian officers, his prisoners: "I know not wherefore I fight; I do not know what is required of me."

The cabinet of St. James's still persisted in its obstinate plans, in spite of the complete defeat of its allies. The issue of the battle of Trafalgar came, however, to offer it an immense compensation. The combined French and Spanish fleets had been destroyed off the southern coast of Spain, by Nelson, who payed with his life for this decisive triumph of the English navy. It was in the midst of his rapid and startling success against the Austro-Russians, that Napoleon learnt this disaster. He said afterwards on the subject: "In the greater part of the battles which we have lost against the English, we were either inferior, or were united with Spanish vessels, which being badly organized, enfeebled our line instead of reinforcing it; or else the generals, commanding in chief, who wished for battle, and advanced to meet the enemy, subsequently hesitated, and retreated under different pretexts, thus compromising the bravest of men." "I have spent a great deal of time," he says elsewhere, "in seeking for a naval man, without having been able to succeed in finding him. There is in this profession, a peculiarity, a technicality which opposes all my conceptions. If I had met with some man of

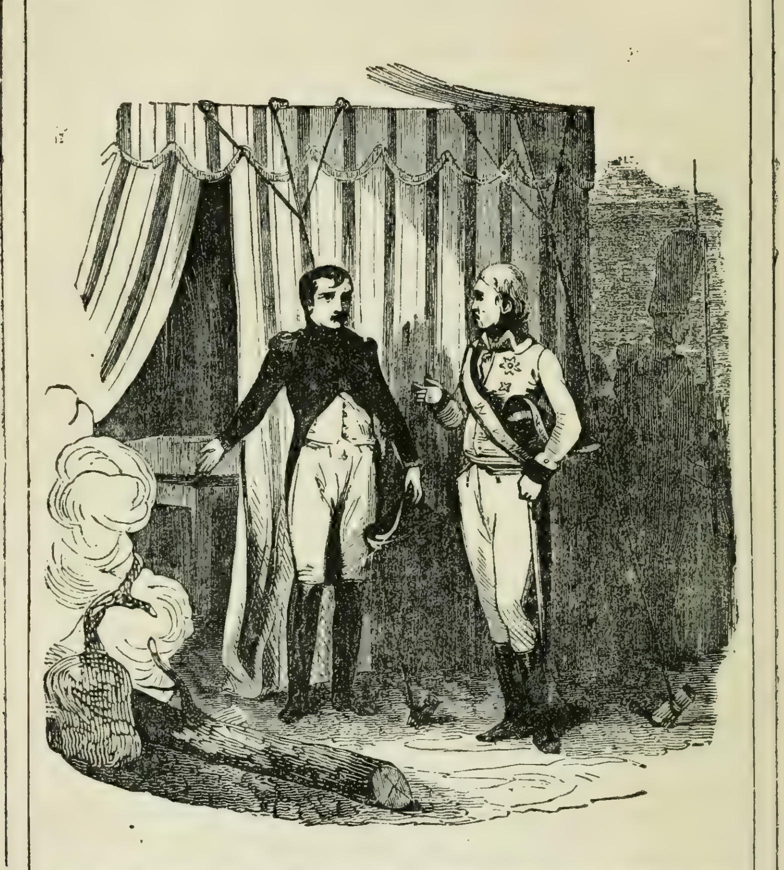
genius who could have worked out my ideas, what results might we not have obtained! But, under my reign, no man has ever arisen in the navy, who could depart from the usual routine, or mark out a path for himself.

The destruction of the French fleet, profoundly grieved the Emperor. From this he beheld the empire of the sea assured to the English for a long period; therefore he thought more than ever of injuring them on the Continent, either with respect to the allies in their pay, or in regard to the colonial commerce of which they exercised the monopoly.

Toryism, defeated by the first bulletin of the grand army, again raised its head in London, with more insolence and pride than before; and its illustrious leader, Pitt, whose end approached, seemed destined to expire, like Nelson, in the bosom of triumph. For nearly a month, England remained intoxicated with the unexpected success of her squadron; she became emboldened by the cannon of Trafalgar, to continue a war, which, by preparing the downfall of Napoleon, was to facilitate for ten years the revolutionary education of Europe.

But let us depart from the cabinet of St. James's, and its public rejoicings, and hasten to return to Austerlitz, which had caused so much disturbance to the Tory festivals and the expiring joys of Pitt.

The day after this great battle, at day-break, Prince John of Lichtenstein, commanding the Austrian army of Moravia, presented himself at the head-quarters of the Emperor Napoleon, established in a barn. He came to solicit an interview for his master, who was forced to throw himself upon the moderation and generosity of the conqueror to save his crown and dominions from the usual results of conquest. Napoleon acceded to his demand, and the interview wished for by the vanquished monarch, took place the same day, at the tent of the victorious hero. "I receive you in the only palace which I have inhabited for two months," said Napoleon to the Emperor Francis; and the latter immediately replied



with a forced smile: "You turn your habitation to such good account, that it ought to please you." In a few hours, an armistice was arranged, and the principal conditions of the peace determined on. The Emperor of Germany, yielding to circumstances, applied himself to fan the agitation of the conqueror against the English: "These are merchants, indeed," he affectedly exclaimed; "they set fire to the continent, in order to ensure themselves the commerce of the world." He spoke also in the name of the Emperor of Russia, who, he said, would abandon the English alliance, and

wished to make peace separately. "There is no doubt," he added, "that France has justice on her side in her quarrel with England." France has justice! was it not something marvellous to see the princes who had raised innumerable masses of soldiers against France, thus suddenly enlightened in regard to the rights of their enemies, and the wrongs of their allies? Was it not something deplorable that this sudden enlightenment only took place after twenty combats and one battle, in which human blood had flowed in abundance?

Napoleon did not abuse the advantage which the events of the preceding day had accorded him. He promised to suspend the march of his columns, and to let the Russian army pass, if Alexander would engage to return to his dominions and evacuate Austrian and Prussian Poland. The Emperor Francis gave this assurance in the name of Alexander, and afterwards retired, accompanied by the princes of Lichtenstein and Schwartzenberg. Napoleon accompanied him to his carriage, and returned to sleep at Austerlitz. He said on quitting the Austrian monarch: "This man has made me commit a fault, for I could have followed up my victory, and taken the whole Russian and Austrian army; however, it will cause some tears less to be shed."

Napoleon had spoken to his soldiers, on the evening preceding the battle to enflame their courage and presage to them the victory; he did not forget to address himself to them again, after the fight, to felicitate them upon having so nobly contributed to verify his prediction. "Soldiers," he said to them, "I am satisfied with you! You have on this day of Austerlitz, justified all that which I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with an immortal glory. When all that is necessary to assure the happiness and prosperity of our country is accomplished, I will lead you back to France. There, you will be the object of my tenderest solicitude. My people will joyfully see you again; and it will suffice for you to say: 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,'



for them to reply: 'Here is a brave man.'"

However, an aide-de-camp of Napoleon, General Savary, had accompanied the Emperor of Germany, to know if Alexander would accept the engagements made in his name. The Czar hastened to ratify the assurance given by his august ally; and afterwards said to the French envoy: "You were inferior to me, and yet you were superior on all the points of attack."—"Sire," replied Savary, "it is the art of war, and the fruit of fifteen years of glory; it is the fortieth battle which the Emperor has fought."—"That is true," replied Alexander, "he is a great soldier. For me, it is the first time that I have seen fire. I have never pretended to measure myself with him. I am going to my capital. I came to the assistance of the Emperor of Germany; he has informed me that he is satisfied; so am I."

The armistice agreed to on the 3rd December, between Napoleon and the Emperor of Germany, received on the 6th an official form, and was signed by Marshal Berthier and Prince John of Lichtenstein.

From Austerlitz, the head-quarters returned to Brunn. It

was there that Napoleon, ordering to be presented to him Prince Repnin, colonel of the *chevaliers-gardes,* said to him "that he did not wish to deprive the Emperor of Russia of so many brave men, and that he might collect all the prisoners of the Imperial Russian guard and return with them to their country."

On the 13th December, Napoleon returned to Schœnbrunn. He there received the deputation from the mayors of Paris. The mayor of the seventh *arrondissement* was the spokesman. The Emperor announced to them the approaching conclusion of hostilities, and charged them to convey to Paris the flags taken at Austerlitz and destined for the church of Notre Dame. He wrote at the same time to the cardinal-archbishop to confide to his keeping this glorious deposit, and to express to him his intention, that every year a solemn mass should be chaunted in the metropolis, in memory of the brave men who died for their country on this great day.

During his stay at Schœnbrunn, the Emperor passing the troops in review, came to the first battalion of the 4th regiment of the line, which had been broken at Austerlitz, and lost its eagle. "Soldiers," exclaimed Napoleon; "what have you done with the eagle I gave you? You swore that it should serve you as a rallying point, and that you would defend it at peril of your lives: how have you kept your oaths?" The major replied that the standard-bearer having been killed in a charge, no one had perceived it in the midst of the smoke; but that the *corps* had not the less performed its duty, since it had overthrown two Russian battalions and taken two flags, which they had presented to the Emperor. After hesitating a moment, Napoleon desired the officers and soldiers to swear that they had not perceived the loss of their eagle, which they all did immediately; and the Emperor, then taking a less severe tone, said to them smiling: "In that case, I will restore your eagle."

The negociations for the peace had been followed up with

the greatest activity; and led to the treaty of Presburg, which was signed on the 26th December, and by which the Venetian states were again united with the kingdom of Italy, and the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemburg raised to the dignity of kings. Napoleon himself announced this happy news to his army by a proclamation on the 27th, and in which he said that after having seen their Emperor share with them their perils and fatigues, they should now see him surrounded by the grandeur and splendour appertaining to the sovereign of the first people of the universe. "I shall give a grand festival, at the beginning of May, in Paris," he added: "you will all be there, and afterwards we will go wherever the happiness of our country, and the interests of our glory shall call us. Soldiers, the idea that I shall see you all, before six months, ranged around my palace, gladdens my heart, and I already experience the most tender emotions. We will celebrate the memory of those, who, in these two campaigns, have died on the field of honour; and the world shall see us all ready to imitate their example, and to do still more than they have done, if requisite, against those who would attack our honour, or allow themselves to be misled by the corruptive gold of the eternal enemies of the continent."

It was this magical language, all-powerful on the mind of the soldier, it was these individual addresses at the reviews, and the tone of military companionship which Napoleon knew so well how to assume, that have caused him to be accused of having acquired and maintained his great popularity in the camp by a species of charlatanism. But the writers who have hazarded this reproach, have not comprehended that, if a like qualification could be applied to activity, displayed by a great man, to render a nation or an army capable of giving birth to great things, it would not, therefore, necessarily result that the said great man should let himself down to the level of those who are commonly called charlatans, but rather that charlatanism had been elevated to the height of patriotism

and political intelligence, and frequently even to sublimity of genius. Let us indeed look into history, and we shall see that none of the benefactors of humanity, none of the great civilizers, either by means of legislation, religion, or conquest, ever reproached himself with employing the same means as Napoleon to obtain the mastery of mankind, and lead them to high destinies. If the use which they made of their superiority, for the welfare or glory of nations can be called charlatanism, as the ascendance acquired by the Marshal D'Ancre over Mary de Medicis was called sorcery, we must not, in the present century, raise a pile for such charlatans, but rather exclaim: " Honour to their charlatanism!"

Napoleon's adieus to the capital of Austria are not less worthy of historical mention, than his last proclamation to the army.

"Citizens of Vienna," he said to them, "I have appeared but little amongst you, not from disdain or vain pride; but I was unwilling to deprive you of any of those sentiments which you owe to the prince with whom I was about concluding a speedy peace. In leaving you, receive as a present evincing my esteem, your arsenal complete, which the laws of war had rendered my property; use it in the maintenance of order. You must attribute all the ills you have suffered, to the mishaps inseparable from war; and all the improvements which my army may have brought into your country, you owe to the esteem which you have merited."

This proclamation was hardly signed, and peace announced to the people of Vienna and the French army, than by a fresh proclamation, dated on the same day, the 27th December, Napoleon denounced to the world the perfidy of the court of Naples, which, in contempt of a treaty concluded two months before, had just opened her ports to the English. Never had his words been more noble, more energetic, more menacing. Bourbons holding out the hand of friendship to the English, and betraying France. It was sufficient immediately to raise

the passions, the antipathies, the repugnancies of the nation, and for it to strain every nerve. Here, the Imperial Dictator thought it requisite to speak as had formerly done the Conventional Dictator. It was absolutely necessary to be inexorable with respect to this royal perjury, and to compel the Bourbons of Naples to descend the throne, humbled and trembling, in the face of the English. Napoleon admirably fulfilled this task. Never did he better represent France and the Revolution. The following is the proclamation to the grand army :

"From the Imperial camp at Schœnbrunn, 26th December, 1805.

"Soldiers,

"For the last ten years, I have done every thing in my power to save the King of Naples ; he has done every thing to destroy himself.

"After the battles of Dego, Mondovi, and Lodi, he could oppose to me but a feeble resistance. I relied upon the word of this prince, and was generous towards him.

"When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the King of Naples, who had been the first to commence this unjust war, abandoned at Luneville by his allies, remained single-handed and defenceless. He implored me ; I pardoned him a second time.

"It is but a few months since you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficiently powerful reasons for suspecting the treason in contemplation, and to avenge the outrages which had been committed against me. I was still generous. I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples ; I ordered you to evacuate the kingdom ; and, for the third time, the house of Naples was re-established and saved.

"Shall we forgive a fourth time? Shall we rely a fourth time on a court without faith, honour, or reason? No, no! The dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign ; its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of my crown.

" Soldiers, march; cast into the waves, if they dare to wait your coming, these wretched battalions of the tyrants of the sea. Shew the world how we punish perjury. Let me know speedily that Italy is entirely subjected to my laws, or to those of my allies; that the finest country of the earth is freed from the yoke of the most perfidious of men; that the sanctity of treaties is avenged, and that the manes of my brave soldiers, murdered in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, after having escaped the perils of shipwreck, of the desert and of a hundred fights, are at length appeased."

The army of Italy, which the triumphs of Massena, had conducted to the frontiers of Austria, and which had thus become the eighth *corps* of the army of Germany, nobly accomplished the wish of Napoleon, by hastening to possess itself of the kingdom of Naples. This rapid conquest was announced in the following terms by the thirty-seventh bulletin of the grand army :

" General Saint Cyr made forced marches upon Naples to punish the treason of the queen, and hurl this culpable woman from the throne, who had so immodestly violated every thing which is held sacred among men. Intercessions were made for her with the Emperor, who replied :

" ' Though hostilities may recommence, and even if the nation had to support a war of thirty years, so atrocious a perfidy could not be pardoned. The Queen of Naples has ceased to reign; this last crime has achieved her destiny. Let her go to London, and increase the number of intriguers, and form a sympathetic committee with Drake, Spencer, Smith, Taylor, and Wickam; she will also be enabled to add to these names, if she thinks fit, the Baron d' Armfeld, M. M. de Fersen, d' Antraigues, and the monk Morus."

Before quitting Vienna, Napoleon desired to speak freely with an envoy of the King of Prussia. M. de Haugwitz, who had only made his appearance on the theatre of war, in order to spy the different movements and chances, and to be more

prompt in declaring the alliance of his master with the courts of Austria and Russia, on the first check received by the French arms. No doubt the battle of Austerlitz had caused this declaration to be adjourned, and the Prussian minister, occupied in negociating a new treaty with M. de Talleyrand, thought no longer of his primitive instructions, when being presented to the Emperor, the latter said to him in the most severe tone and with great *hauteur:*

"Is this behaviour of your master towards me, loyal? It would have been more honourable for him to have openly declared war against me, although he would have had no motive for so doing. I prefer open enemies to false friends. What does that signify? You call yourselves my allies, and yet you suffer a body of thirty thousand Russians to remain in Hanover, and hold communication through your states with the bulk of the Russian army. Nothing can justify such conduct; it is an open act of hostility. If the power allowed you, is not sufficiently extensive to treat upon all these questions, do as you think fit; for my part, I shall march upon all my enemies, wherever they may be."

M. de Haugwitz could not deny the justice of the reproaches which he received; and in order to conceal his equivocal position, appeared disposed to treat with France on the grounds proposed by M. de Talleyrand. He therefore signed a solemn treaty, by which Hanover was exchanged against the margravates of Baireut and Anspach, whilst M. de Hardenberg was treating at Berlin, by the orders and even under the eyes of the King of Prussia, with the cabinet of London. We shall presently see the effects of this double diplomacy.

On his return to Paris, Napoleon passed through Munich, where he stayed some time to assist at the marriage of Prince Eugene with the daughter of the King of Bavaria. He wrote from this capital, on the 6th January, 1806, to the senate, in order to inform them that the treaty of Presburg would soon be submitted to them, which they would have to proclaim as a



BEAUHARNAIS.

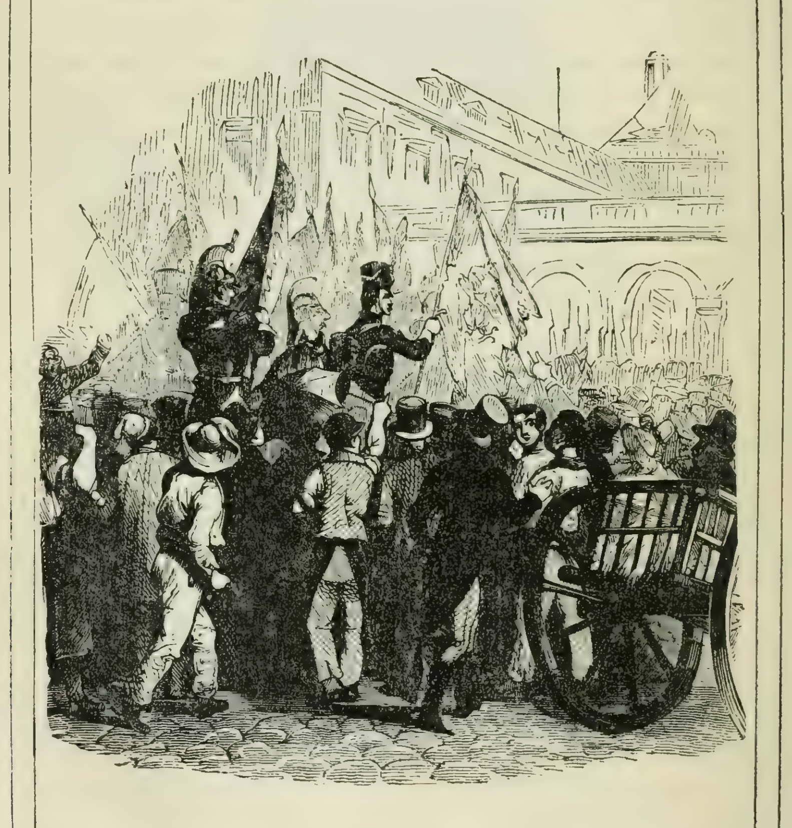
law of the Empire. "I had wished," he said, "to have made you acquainted with the conditions myself, at a solemn meeting; but having long since, conjointly with the King of Bavaria, determined on the marriage of my son, Prince Eugene, with the Princess Augusta, his daughter, and finding myself at Munich, at the moment when the marriage was about to be celebrated, I could not resist the pleasure of uniting these young people myself, who are both models to their sex. My arrival amongst my people will, therefore, be delayed for a few days; these days will appear long to my heart; but after having been incessantly wrapped up in the duties of the soldier, I feel it to be a tender relaxation to occupy myself with the details and duties of a father of a family. But not wishing to delay any longer the publication of the treaty of peace, I have given orders that you should be made acquainted with it without loss of time."

This communication was shortly succeeded by another. The Emperor informed the senate that he had just adopted



Eugene as his son, and that he should call him to reign after himself over the Italians, in default of legitimate heirs.

The marriage of this young prince took place on the 15th January, 1805, at Munich. Napoleon and Josephine assisted at the ceremony, and increased by their presence, the *éclat* of the festivals which the court of Bavaria gave, in order to celebrate this union. Eugene had at first seemed opposed to the ouvertures which the Emperor had made to him on this subject; he disliked forming a political marriage, but as soon as he had beheld, and was able to appreciate the young



princess who was destined for him, he hastily embraced the views of Napoleon.

Whilst the Emperor prolonged his stay in Bavaria, the great bodies of the state, and the Parisian people, prepared to receive the conqueror of Austerlitz in a manner worthy of him.

The tribunate had already commenced operations. In the sitting of the 30th December, a proposal had been adopted tending to "give to the hero, who, by the prodigies he had performed, rendered eulogy impossible, a testimony of admiration, love and gratitude, which should remain imperishable as his glory."

On the 1st January, 1806, the fifty-four flags given to the senate by the Emperor, were conveyed to the Luxemburg by the tribunate in a body, followed by the authorities, with military music and a part of the garrison of Paris. The arch-chancellor and all the ministers were present at this sitting. The senate, presided over by the grand elector, signalized the reception of the glorious present which was about to decorate their palace, by decreeing, in the name of the French people:

1st. That a triumphal monument should be consecrated to Napoleon the Great;

2nd. That the senate in a body should go before his Imperial and royal majesty, and present him with the homage of the admiration, of the gratitude, and of the love of the French people;

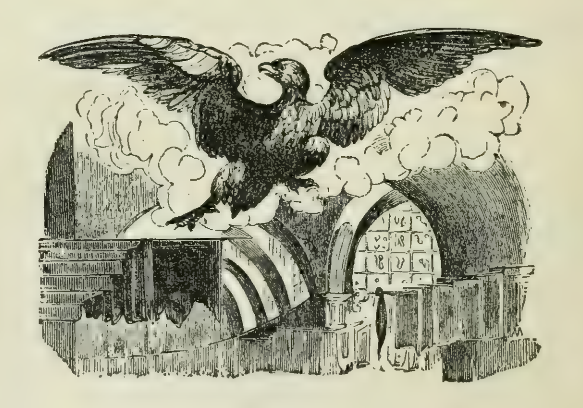
3rd. That the letter of the Emperor to the senate, dated from Elchingen, the 26th Vendemiaire, year XIV, should be engraved on marble tablets, and placed in the hall where the sittings of the senate were held;

4th. That at the foot of this letter, should likewise be engraved the following:

"The forty flags, and fourteen others, added to the first by his majesty, have been brought to the senate by the tribunate in a body, and deposited in this hall, on Wednesday the 1st January, 1806."

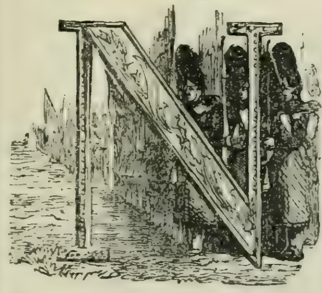
The cathedral of Paris also had its part in the distribution of the trophies of this immortal campaign. We have seen

that the flags, which were destined for it, had been forwarded to the Parisian municipality from the camp at Schœnbrunn. The metropolitan clergy came on the 19th January to receive them, in great pomp, at the doors of their church, to the vaults of which they were suspended.



CHAPTER XXII.

Napoleon recognized Emperor by the Ottoman Porte. The Pantheon devoted to Catholic worship. Restoration of St. Denis. Opening of the legislative body. Public works. Code of civil procedure. Imperial university. Bank of France. Imperial statutes. Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples. Murat, grand-duke of Berg. Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland. Foundation of the confederation of the Rhine. Great Sanhedrim reassembled at Paris. Treaty with the port. Negociation for the universal peace. Death of Fox.



APOLEON and Josephine returned to Paris on the 26th. Their presence in the capital caused a movement of universal enthusiasm, of which the senate and the tribunate made themselves the organs, at the solemn audience which was granted them on the 28th at the Palace of the Tuileries.

"Sire," said the president of the first of these bodies, (François de Neaufchateau) "although your diffidence treats so lightly the prodigies without number, by which the genius,

which had already surpassed all other heroes now surpasses itself, suffer us to conform to the decree of the Senate, by solemnly giving the saviour of France the title of *Great*, a title so justly merited, and which the voice of the people, which may in this instance be regarded as the voice of God, commands us to bestow upon you."

The Emperor replied, that he thanked the Senate for the sentiments which their president had expressed towards him, and that he placed his sole glory in fixing the destinies of France in such wise, that in the most distant ages, she should be known by the denomination of the GREAT NATION.

These solemn felicitations were followed by public rejoicings.

Napoleon had at heart to make all the governments of Europe acknowledge the title of Emperor, which the French nation had decreed him. The dignity of the great people of whom he held his rights, appeared to him concerned in this acknowledgment; and his personal dignity, his self-love, his pride, did not the less dispose him to attach great importance to it. Alexander had greatly displeased him, by addressing a letter under the mere title of "head of the French government," after the manner of the King of England, who had even affected only to correspond through the medium of a



secretary of state. It was therefore a sort of indemnity for

Napoleon, when he learnt that the Sultan of Constantinople. Selim III., had just officially acknowledged him Emperor of the French.

This desire of being admitted, by kings, to the honour of confraternity, it will be seen, proved fatal to Napoleon, by urging him to impolitic acts, both in regard to his diplomacy, and his internal administration. Thus, at Austerlitz, he evinced himself generous, even to imprudence, towards powerful and irreconcilable enemies, whom he might have destroyed, and with which he immediately reproached himself as a fault. Thus on his return from this memorable campaign, he restored the Catholic worship to the Pantheon, and ordered the restoration of the royal sepulture of Saint Denis, without fearing to wound the philosophical and democratical susceptibilities of the people, who alone constituted his power and grandeur. The same decree issued on the 20th February, 1806, sufficed for these two measures. It was provoked by the minister of the interior, M. de Champagny, whose report may enable us to appreciate the governmental tendencies of the period.

"Sire," said this minister, "the church of St Geneviève, the finest of the temples of the capital, which, placed on the summit of the mount consecrated to tutelary worship, crowned so nobly the assemblage of master-pieces of art which decorate this capital, and announced to the stranger from afar, the august reign of religion over this immense population, devoted at length to another purpose, neglected, without employment, and without any object, seems itself to be astonished at its desertion. Cold curiosity, on visiting its site, is surprised to find already in a monument, scarcely completed, the solitude of ruins: the genius of art, which exhausted on it all the richness of her conceptions, afflicts herself at finding it without character, I might almost say without life and soul; religion, seeing her hopes deceived, turns away from a monument, the majesty of which cannot be worthily evinced, but

by the worship of the Most High, and which was erected as a homage rendered to God by the genius of mankind.

"St.Denis boasts of another monument which dates, on the contrary, from the very origin of the nation, which Dagobert dedicated to the protector of France, which was rebuilt by the abbé Segur, and which may be said to contain in its bosom the whole history of this Empire. There repose three races which reigned over France, a spectacle commanding profound meditation for princes and nations, and recals at once all the greatness of human affairs, and their frail duration; a mausoleum consecrated by religion and time; a vast tomb filled with the dust of kings, placed away from the tumult of the capital, as by a movement of terror and respect.

"Sire, your mind alone, has re-animated and almost re-created these two monuments. They will be restored thereby to all their pristine dignity."

The return to religious and monarchical ideas could not be better expressed. If the Emperor had wished to make a merit of it, in the eyes of other nations, or even in France, in regard to the clergy, and the whole party of the *ancien régime*, his intentions were completely fulfilled by his minister; although, so many efforts, to deny his origin and mask his true nature, must have been lost, after all, upon ancient Europe, upon ancient France, and the old priesthood, which, appreciating Napoleon Bonaparte better than he appreciated himself, persisted in regarding him but as the pupil and patron of philosophy, the son and support of the democracy, the most formidable enemy, and not the sincere restorer of the past, the object of their veneration and regret. To justify the Emperor, his system of fusion and general reconciliation has been invoked. If it only concerned the acts, re-establishing in France the free exercise of different forms of worship, interrupted by conventional or directorial persecution, the excuse would be admissable. When the First Consul re-opened the Catholic temples, in a country of which the immense majority professed and practised Catholicism,

at least from habit, if not with all the fervour of true faith, Bonaparte acted like the statesman. He yielded at once to the empire of circumstances and to the exigence of principles. The public wish, religion, and wholesome philosophy were satisfied with this, for tolerance and liberty are here the only questions, which are not to be excluded from protection, when they are not opposed to other interests and other beliefs.

But, when the Emperor, not content with having restored to the clergy their deserted churches, and with having placed the Catholic priesthood under the two-fold protection of the law and of the public treasure, drove philosophy from its temples, in order to render Catholicism more secure; allowed the patriotical foundations to be spoken of with disdain preparatory to substituting the clerical restorations: when he allowed contemptuous speeches to be uttered over the majestic tomb, which the grateful country had consecrated to the sepulture of her great men, and afterwards complaisantly gave ear to pompous phrases, lauding "the dust of kings," and all this to make philosophical apotheoses fall into disuse, to restore the memory and the name of great men in the tombs of the Pantheon, to make the canons worship the ashes of Voltaire and Rousseau, and to assure Imperial ashes the distinction of being also guarded by canons at St. Denis, mixed with the dust of kings, oh! then there was neither tolerance, liberty nor protection for the Catholic worship, in this conduct of the Emperor; it was a direct attack against the principles which caused the Pantheon to be consecrated to the sepulture of the great; it was a condemnation of the present, a new method of clothing the past, in a word, it was a counter revolution, and bore nothing resembling either an act of necessity or political prudence; the future will shew this.

The opening of the new session of the legislative body followed a few days after the decree of the 20th February, and not one among the deputies of France, thought of exclaiming

against the relinquishment of a national temple to the Roman clergy. All protestation on this subject would indeed have been useless. It was no longer through the tribune, or by means of the press, that France was henceforth to exercise her revolutionary sway over Europe.

Napoleon himself delivered the opening speech; he accused himself, if it may be thus termed, of the too great generosity for which we have already blamed him, and seemed to presage events, which have convinced him of his imprudence, "Russia," said he, "is only indebted for the return of the wreck of her army to the benefit of the capitulation which I have granted her. Possessed of power to overturn the Imperial throne of Austria, I have strengthened its foundation. Will the behaviour of the cabinet of Vienna be such as to cause posterity to reproach me with want of foresight?"

The ministers rendered an account of the situation of the Empire, the prosperity of which was constantly on the increase. Roads, canals, bridges, monuments of all kinds, useful and ornamental buildings, were being commenced or completed at all points of this vast monarchy, which was then composed of a hundred and ten departments, without reckoning Holland, the Venetian states, and the kingdom of Italy.

"Several fresh communications," says the minister of the Interior, "desired by the administrators, have attracted the attention of the government. That of Valogne to the Hague is completed; that of Caen to Harfleur is nearly finished; that of Ajaccio to Bastia is half constructed; that of Alexandria to Savoune is planned; that of Paris to Mayence through Hamburgh, from Aix-la-chapelle to Montjoie, are ordered to be commenced. A laudable animation pervades the great mass of the communes, for the restoration of the vicinal roads.

"Bridges are re-established on the Rhine, at Kehl and at Brissac; on the Meuse, at Givet; on the Cher, at Tours; on the Loire, at Nevers and Roanne; on the Saone, at Auxonne,

etc., etc. Two ungovernable torrents, the Durance and the Isère, will be compelled to pass under bridges."

"Six grand canals are being constructed; that of St. Quentin, the Canal, Napoleon joining the Rhine with the Rhone, the Burgundian canal, those of Blavet and of l'Ile et Rance, that of Arles, and the canals threading Belgium."

"Several others are commenced or planned, such as those of St. Valery, from Beaucaire to Aignes-Mortes, of Sedan, from Niort to La Rochelle, and from Nantes to Brest. Many others are indeed projected those of la Censée, Charleroi, Ypres and Briare.

"If you turn your regards to our ports, you will perceive that both seas are so occupied as to render them more accessible, more commodious and more safe."

M. de Champagny arrived afterwards to speak of the great buildings and embellishments of Paris.

"On your return to your capital" said he "you have been surprised to find it more embellished in the course of one year of war, than it was formerly in a half century of peace. New quays extend along the banks of the Seine. Two bridges have been completed in the preceding year; the third, the most important of all for its extent, is on the point of being finished. In its vicinity a new quarter is planned, in order to render it perfect; the streets of this quarter bear the name of the warriors who have found an honourable death during the campaign; the bridge itself takes the name of Austerlitz.

"On leaving the banks of the Seine, a triumphal arch, placed at the Boulevards will become a fresh monument of these events, the recollection of which ought to be more durable than all that which we could have done to perpetuate it. May these works, at least prove to posterity that we have been as just as she will be, and that our gratitude at least equals our admiration."

To this discourse, of which we give but a fragment, and to

the opening speech of the Emperor, the legislative body replied by an address, which served but to reproduce all the demonstrations of enthusiasm and devotion so lavishly displayed in all the preceding harangues of the great bodies of the state. " Years, under your reign," said M. de Fontanes, are more fertile in glorious events than ages under other dynasties.

" The world seems to have returned to those times, when, as the most brilliant and profound of political writers says, ' the march of the conqueror was so rapid, that the universe seemed rather won by a race than by a victory.' "

This language although proceeding from the mouth of a courtier, was not the less the simple expression of history; for such was the prodigious character of the life of Napoleon, that flattery, so fertile in hyperbolical formulæ, could not speak of his genius and glory without keeping within the limits of truth, even when it most seemed to give way to exaggeration.

In this session, the legislative body adopted the Code of Civil Procedure, which the minister of the interior had appreciated by saying: " This will not be a perfect work; but it will be better than that which has hitherto existed."

The establishment of the Imperial University also dates from this period. The motives for this important foundation were explained by the celebrated Fourcroy, whose science and patriotism, ought to have raised him to the rank of grand-master, and who Napoleon wronged by preferring an abbé of the *ancien régime*, M. de Fontanes.

The organization of the bank of France, also received the legislative sanction, on the report of a councillor of state, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely.

In a closing speech, delivered by another councillor of state, M. Jaubert, at the sitting of the 12th May, 1806, occurred the following passage:

" His majesty has cast his eyes on the different parts of the financial system.

"He has considered the nature of the soil, calculated the means and resources which the movements of external commerce ought to procure for the agriculturer and the merchant.

"His majesty has also heard the universal clamour which is raised against the tax for keeping the roads in order.

"And his majesty has said:

"Let the land-tax be repealed;

"Let the barriers be removed;

"Let the indirect taxes, most appropriate to the situation of France, assure the necessary funds for the administration."

Napoleon wished to conciliate the large proprietors, and to secure the support of the landed aristocracy, and therefore promised a repeal of the land-tax, although it was very evident that the deficiency thereby caused in the revenue, must be made good, indirectly, by the mass of the nation.

Napoleon had too much logic in his head, not to infuse it into his plans, and monarchical reactions. That which he had done for himself as head of the state, he repeated for his relations and lieutenants. Some Imperial statutes, were presented to the Senate, at the sitting of the 31st March, 1806, regulating the positions of the princes and princesses of the Imperial house; erecting Dalmatia, Istria, etc, into duchies and hereditary fiefs; calling Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Naples; giving to Murat, brother-in-law of the Emperor, the sovereignty of the duchies of Berg and Cleves; to the princess Pauline, the principality of Guastalla; to Berthier, that of Neufchatel, etc.

That which we have said of hereditary policy, in regard to the Imperial dignity with which Napoleon had clothed himself, may be applied to the establishment of the great hereditary fiefs, and we may therefore dispense with repeating the reflections which we have made on the attempts at restoration aimed at by the Emperor. Later, we shall behold the principal achievement of the 31st March, 1806, annulled on the 31st March, 1814; whilst the great results of the 4th

August, 1789, will remain imperishable. Let us, however, not forget, as we have already remarked, that the nobles and kings of the Empire, sprung from a plebeian stock, and preserving through every metamorphosis their revolutionary essence, have only kept nobility and royalty in the eyes of people, and thus contributed to the weakening or the ruin of the pomp which supported these two great institutions in their old age.

Amongst the creations and promotions which we have just enumerated, there was one which must of necessity have consequences very favourable to the propagation of French ideas, and to the preparation for an European revolution this was the elevation of Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Naples, to the exclusion of the Bourbons. Without knowing, and without wishing it, a royal hand, will sow at the foot of Vesuvius, the germ of liberal revolutions; and sooner or later this seed will fructify.

Another brother of Napoleon, Louis Bonaparte, also received, in the course of the same year, the adornment of a crown. The deputies of the Dutch, through Admiral Verhuel, demanded of the Emperor, Prince Louis Napoleon, as "supreme head of their Republic," under the title of "King of Holland." Their desire was easily fulfilled. At a solemn audience, which was granted them at the Tuileries, on the 5th June, 1806, Napoleon proclaimed his brother King of Holland "Prince," said he to him, "reign over this people. Their fathers only acquired their independence through the constant assistance of France. Since, Holland became the ally of England; she was conquered, and still owes her existence to France. May she be indebted to you for kings who will protect her liberties, her laws, and her religion. But never cease to be a Frenchman.

"The dignityof Constable of the Empire shall remain to you and your descendants. It will recall those duties you have to ·erform towards me."

King Louis and his beautiful Queen, Hortense, accordingly proceeded to the Hague, where they commenced their reign, in the beginning of June, 1806.

These last words display all the policy of Napoleon in the invasion of foreign thrones. His aim, in crowning his brothers, was not only to give to his family a position elevated and worthy of his own; he wished above all that the surrounding monarchies, subjected to his laws, should be nothing more than provinces of the French Empire; and that assimilation to France might be more certain and deeply rooted, he placed them under the dominion of his own blood. Now, if it is true, that there where the power of France was established, the genius of European civilization, was introduced at the same time, we must allow, that had Napoleon had in view nothing save the extension of his personal authority, he would not thus have sought to make all the nations, which he succeeded in detaching from the system of ancient Europe, enter intimately in the grand unity of new France.

The Emperor was accomplishing his destiny, not only by placing his relations on the thrones of the ancient dynasties, but by forming powerful confederations, of which he was the head, under the title of protector or mediator. It was thus that, after having raised the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemburg to the rank of kings, he wished to bind them still more closely to the destinies of his empire by a solemn treaty which founded the confederation of the Rhine, and which had for a result, the rendering of the finest countries of Germany almost French.

It was in the midst of these ideas of renewing royal races around France, that Napoleon occupied himself with the definitive organization of his council of state, with the institution of a committee of rural economy at the school of Alfort, and with the suppression of gaming-houses throughout the Empire. He also carried his solicitude to the uncertain state of the Jews, and issued a decree, on the 30th May, 1806,

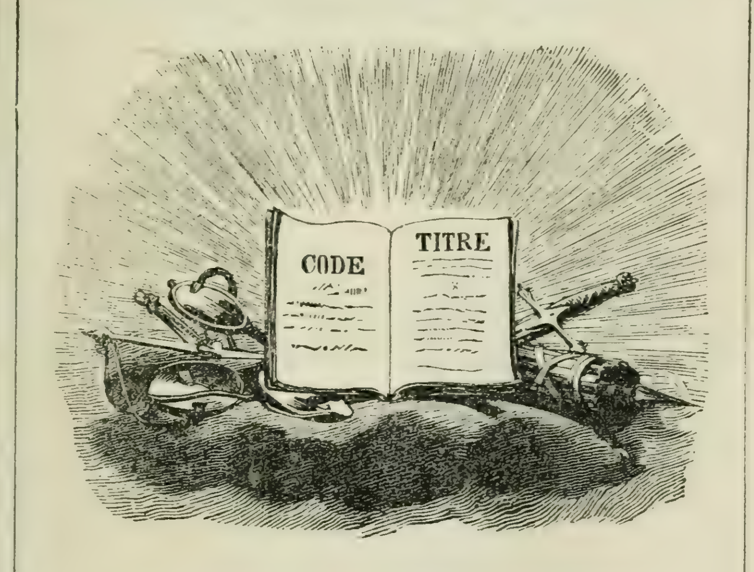
inviting all his subjects of the Hebrew religion to send deputies to Paris. This decree was put into execution, and on the 26th July of the same year, the great Jewish Sanhedrim held its first assembly,

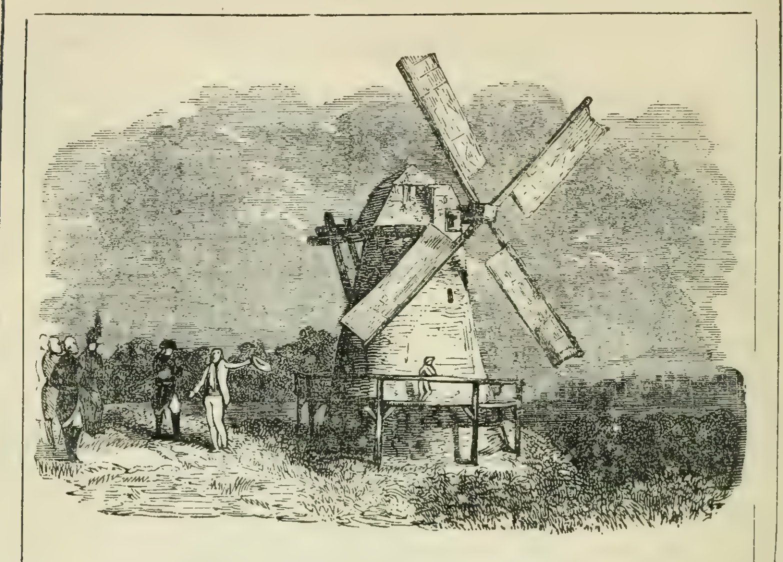
France was then at war with England and Russia only. She had formed an advantageous treaty with the Ottoman Porte, thanks to the intelligence and skill of her ambassador at Constantinople, General Sebastiani. Napoleon granted a first audience to the envoy extraordinary of the Sublime Porte, Mouched Effendi, on the same day that the deputies from Holland were received, and that the decree which disposed of the principalities of Bénévent and Ponte Corvo in favour of Talleyrand and Bernadotte, was issued.

But although hostilities continued between the French government and the cabinets of London and Petersburg, it was not without some hope of peace. The death of Pitt, which happened in January 1806, caused Fox to succeed to the ministry, and this circumstance, alone, was sufficient to make many believe that some modifications would take place in the English policy with regard to France. Fox and Napoleon, we have said, mutually esteemed each other. During his last administration, this illustrious Englishman, having received from a miserable emigrant an offer to attempt the life of the Emperor, quickly arrested the assassin, and afterwards wrote to Paris, to the minister of the Exterior, to inform him of all, and to tell him that the English laws did not permit the detention for any length of time, of a foreigner in prison, who had not been guilty of any actual crime; but that he had, nevertheless, taken upon himself not to release this scoundrel, until Napoleon being warned, should be on his guard against his attempts.

With such a minister, the ancient rivalry of France and England would soon have given place to less hostile dispositions, and peace might have become possible. Napoleon thought so, and declared such to have been his opinion at St.

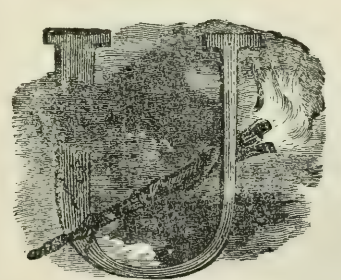
Helena. But the French Revolution had as yet visited but one of the great capitals of Europe, and was expected in others. Fox died on the 15th September, 1806, during the negociations with France, and the shade of Pitt led back warlike obstinacy to the Britannic councils.





CHAPTER XXIII.

Campaign of Prussia. Battle of Jena. Napoleon at Potsdam.



UNDER the circumstances alluded to in the previous chapter, a treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, on the 20th July, 1806, by the Russian minister, under the then pacific influence of the British ministry. But the death of Fox having given to this influence an hostile character, Alexander refused to ratify the work of his ambassador, and concerted with the new English cabinet and the court of Berlin, to re-illumine the torch of war on the Continent. Already a year had elapsed, since the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia and his wife, had signed the famous treaty of Potsdam, and sworn on the tomb of the great Frederick, to unite all their efforts against France.

Napoleon, informed of the preparations of the Northern courts, denounced them to his allies of the confederation of the Rhine. He wrote, on the 21st September 1806, to the King of Bavaria, in order specially to call his attention to the armaments of Prussia, and to claim the contingence promised by the treaty of the 12th July.

Three days after, he quitted St. Cloud, and marched towards Germany, accompanied by Josephine. Arrived on the 28th at Mayence, where he separated from the Empress, he received, on the 30th, the accession of the Elector of Wurtzburg to the Confederation of the Rhine, and passed this river on the 1st October. On the 6th, his head-quarters were at Bamberg, whence he addressed a proamclation to his army, to inform them of the enemy they were about to fight. "Soldiers," said he, "the war-cry has been heard at Berlin; for two months our provocation has been increased each day.

"The same faction, the same spirit of opposition, which favoured by our internal dissensions, conducted, fourteen years since, the Prussians to the plains of Champagne, rules in their council. In Champagne they met with defeat, death, and shame.

"Let us then march—let the Prussian army meet with the same fate it evinced, fourteen years ago! let them learn that if it was easy to acquire an increase of domain and power with the friendship of the great people, their enmity (which can only be provoked by an abandonment of all the spirit of wisdom and reason), is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean."

It is easy to perceive that the Emperor is more at home, that his aspect is more frank and animated, when he exhumes the revolutionary traditions which have been deposited in his hands, than when he evokes the religious and monarchical recollections of St. Geneviéve and St. Denis.

However, Napoleon had entered upon the campaign, and was about to fall upon his enemies, without knowing any

more than in the last war, "why he fought, or what was required of him." He formally expresses the subjoined in a message which he addressed from Bamberg, on the 7th October, to the Senate:

"In so just a war," said he, "where we only take arms to defend ourselves, which we have not provoked by any act, by any pretence, the true cause of which it would be impossible to assign, we reckon entirely upon the support of the laws and on that of the people, whom circumstances call upon to give fresh proofs of their devotion and courage."

We have already indicated the true cause and the occasion of preceding wars; and Napoleon, who, since he had been crowned and anointed Emperor, seemed to fear to confess that kings might still wage a war of principles with him, allows it to be conceived, in his proclamation to the army, when he accuses "the same faction, the same spirit of opposition," which conducted Brunswick to Champagne, in 1792, to hold sway at the present time, as formerly, in the Counsels of the Prussian monarchy,

For the rest, the same day of his message to the Senate, he received from Mayence a courier from Talleyrand, who brought him a letter from the King of Prussia, in which this prince, repeated, in twenty pages, all the common griefs which the enemies of the Revolution had not ceased to reproduce during fifteen years, and under every form, against France. The Emperor could not finish reading it; and said to the persons who surrounded him:

"I pity my brother the King of Prussia; he does not understand French, he surely cannot have read this rhapsody."

And as the king's letter was accompanied by the famous note of M. de Knobelsdorf, the Emperor, addressing Berthier, added:

"Marshal, we have a *rendez-vous* of honour appointed for the 8th; a Frenchman has never failed to keep them; but as we are told that there is a beautiful queen who wishes to be a

witness of the fight, let us be courteous, and march, without sleeping, for Saxony."

Napoleon alluded to the queen of Prussia who was with the



army, dressed as an Amazon, wearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, "writing twenty letters per day," said the first bulletin, "to fan the flame in all parts."

The Emperor kept his word. On the 8th October, he left Bamberg at three o'clock in the morning, crossed during the day, the forest of Franconia, and assisted, on the 9th, at Shleitz, at the brilliant opening of the campaign. This village was carried by Marshal Bernadotte, who defeated in this rencounter, a body of ten thousand Prussians, of which the greater part remained prisoners. Murat also took part in the action, heading the charges, sword in hand.

A fresh success signalized the day of the 10th at Saalfeld. This combat was given by the left wing of the French army under the command of Marshal Lannes. The result was the complete rout of the advance-guard of Prince Hohenlohe, commanded by Prince Louis of Prussia who remained on the field of battle. This young prince was beloved by the army,

the ancient glory of which he burned to restore. His courage was his destruction. He had shewn himself one of the most ardent promoters of the war, and his advice in the Prussian councils had been to act vigorously on the offensive. Trembling at the idea of abandoning the post confided to his valour, he offered battle to forces evidently superior, and which were in possession of the more advantageous position. After a brave resistance, his line was overthrown and broken ; and whilst he made desperate efforts to rally the fugitives, he was overtaken by a sergeant of hussars named Guindet, who called upon him to surrender, to which he only replied by putting



himself in an attitude of defence. He was then mortally wounded, which occasioned it to be remarked in the second bulletin, that " the first blow of the war had killed one of its authors."

On the 12th, the French army was at the gates of Leipsic, and the head-quarters of the Emperor at Gera. The issue of the campaign was no longer doubtful for Napoleon; but as he aimed at averting from himself the responsibility of the war, and of well establishing in the eyes of Europe, that he had neglected nothing to secure peace, he employed himself at Gera, in writing a reply to the letter of the King of Prussia, which soon became public, and of which we here give the chief passages:

"Sir, my brother, I did not receive your majesty's letter of the 25th until the 7th; I am grieved that this kind of pamphlet should have been signed. I only reply to it, in order to protest to your majesty that I do not attribute any of the things contained in it to you; all are opposed to your character and to the honour of both. I pity and disdain the compilers of such a work. Immediately after, I have received your minister's note of the 1st October. A rendez-vous was appointed me for the 8th; like a true knight I have kept it; I am in the heart of Saxony. Believe me my strength is such that your forces cannot long balance the victory. But wherefore shed so much blood? to what purpose? I will hold to your majesty the same language I held to the Emperor Alexander two days before the battle of Austerlitz.—Why should we make our subjects slay each other? I do not prize a victory which is purchased by the lives of so many of my children. If I were just commencing my military career, and if I had any reason to fear the chances of war, this language would be wholly misplaced. Sire, your majesty will be vanquished; you will have compromised the repose of your life, the existence of your subjects, without the shadow of a pretext. At present you are uninjured, and may treat with me in a manner conformable with your rank; before a month has passed, you will treat, but in a different position. . . . . I am aware that I may perhaps irritate a certain monarchical susceptibility; but circumstances demand me to use no concealment. May your

majesty command the ill-disposed and inconsiderate persons with which you are surrounded, to be silent at the aspect of your throne, from the respect which is due to it; and may you restore tranquillity to yourself and your dominions."

The Emperor was not deceived in saying that his letter might perhaps irritate the monarchical susceptibilities of the King of Prussia; and he also truly foretold the future, when he boldly announced to this prince, "that his majesty would be vanquished." In effect, two days after, the Prussian army was annihilated in the plains of Jena, and, on the 15th October, the fifth bulletin of the grand army, drawn up on the field of battle was thus expressed:

BATTLE OF JENA.

"The battle of Jena has washed out the affront of Rosbach, and decided, in seven days, a campaign which has entirely calmed the warlike frenzy which had possessed itself of the Prussian mind.

"The King of Prussia wished to commence hostilities on the 9th October, by defiling before Frankfort on his right, Wurtzburg on his centre, and Bamberg on his left; all the divisions of his army were disposed to execute this plan; but the French army, turning on the extremity of his left, found itself in a few days at Sadlburg, Labenstein, Schleisz, Gera, and Naumburg. The Prussian army being turned, employed the days of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in recalling all its detachments, and on the 13th, presented itself in order of battle between Capelsdorf and Anerstadt, being about a hundred and fifty thousand men strong.

"On the 13th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor arrived at Jena, and from a slight elevation, occupied by our advance-guard, he perceived the disposition of the enemy, who appeared to be manœuvring in order to attack the next day, and force the different mouths of the Saale. The enemy defended in great strength, and in an almost impregnable

position, the road from Jena to Weimar, and appeared to think that the French could not defile in the plain, without having forced this passage; it did not appear possible, indeed, to mount any artillery on the plain, which, besides, was so small, that four battalions could scarcely find room on it. We laboured all night at forming a road through the rock and succeeded in conveying the artillery to the heights.

"Marshal Davoust received orders to pass by Naumberg to defend the defiles of Kœsen, if they attempted to march upon Naumburg, or to repair to Alpoda, to take them in the rear if they remained in their present position.

"The *corps* of Marshal Prince de Ponte Corvo, was destined to defile from Dornburg in order to fall upon the rear of the enemy whether they attacked Naumburg or Jena in any force.

"The heavy cavalry which had not yet rejoined the army, could not arrive until noon; the cavalry of the Imperial guard was at thirty-six leagues distance, in spite of the forced marches it had made since its departure from Paris. But there are moments in war, when no consideration can balance the advantage of being before-hand with the enemy, and of attacking first. The Emperor ordered to be ranged on the elevation which was occupied by the advance-guard, which the enemy appeared to have neglected, and opposite to which they were in position, the whole of the *corps* of Marshal Lannes, each division forming a wing. Marshal Lefebvre placed on the summit, the Imperial guard in a square battalion. The Emperor bivouacked in the midst of his brave fellows. The night offered a spectacle worthy of observation, that of the two armies, one of which embraced with its front an extent of six leagues, and peopled the atmosphere with its fires, the other whose apparent fires were concentrated in a small point, and in both encampments, activity and motion. The fires of the two armies were within half cannon-shot; the sentinels almost touched each other, and not a movement could be made without being heard.

"The troops of Marshal Ney and Soult passed the night in marching. At day-break, the whole of the troops took arms. The division Gazan was ranged in three lines to the left of the hill. The division Suchet formed the right; the Imperial guard occupied the summit of the hillock; each of these bodies having their cannon in the intervals. From the town and the neighbouring vallies, some passages had been constructed, which permitted the easier operations of the troops who had not been able to find room on the hills; for it was, perhaps, the first time that an army was to pass through so narrow a defile.

"A thick fog obscured the day. The Emperor passed before several lines; he recommended the soldiers to be on their guard against the Prussian cavalry, which had been represented as so formidable. He bade them remember, that a year ago, at the same period, they had conquered Ulm; that the Prussian, like the Austrian army, was at that moment shackled, having lost its line of operations and its magazines; that it could not, therefore, fight for glory, but for a retreat; that as it would seek to force a passage on different points, those divisions which allowed it to pass, should lose honour and reputation. To this animated discourse, the soldiers replied by cries of 'Let us march.' The riflemen commenced the action, and the firing soon became vigorous. Good as was the position which the enemy occupied, it was nevertheless dislodged, and the French army, defiling into the plain, began to take up its order of battle.

"On their side, the chief body of the hostile army, which had only intended to commence the attack when the fog had cleared up, took arms. A body of fifty thousand men on the left, posted themselves so as to cover the defiles of Naumburg; but they had already been forestalled by Marshal Davoust. The two other bodies, forming a force of eighty thousand men, marched to meet the French army, which was just emerging from the plain of Jena. The fog covered the armies during

two hours, but was at length dissipated by a fine autumn sun. The two armies perceived each other within cannon-shot. The left of the French troops supported by a village and some woods, was commanded by Marshal Augereau. The Imperial guard separated it from the centre, which was occupied by Marshal Lannes. The right was formed by the *corps* of Marshal Soult; Marshal Ney had but a small body of three thousand men, the only troops under his command which had arrived.

"The hostile army was numerous and boasted of a fine cavalry. The manœuvres were executed with precision and rapidity. The Emperor had wished to delay for two hours, before commencing the action, in order to wait, in the position which he had just taken after the attack of the morning, for the troops which were to join him, and especially the cavalry; but French ardour carried all before it. Several battalions being engaged at the village of Holstedt, he saw the enemy moving to gain this post. Marshal Lannes immediately received orders to march to the support of this village. Marshal Soult had attacked a wood on the right. The enemy having made a movement of its right upon our left, Marshal Augereau was charged to repulse it; in less than an hour the action became general; two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight pieces of cannon, scattered death on all sides, and presented a spectacle rare in history.

"Both sides were constantly executing manœuvres as though on parade. Among our troops there was not the least disorder; the victory was never for a moment doubtful. The Emperor retained near him, exclusive of the Imperial guard, a large number of reserved troops in order to be enabled to provide against any unforeseen accident.

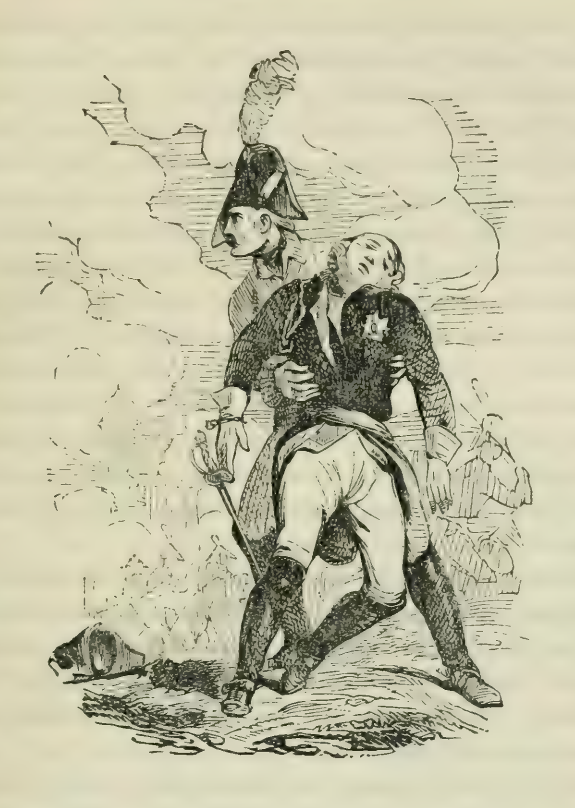
"Marshal Soult, having carried the wood which he had attacked during two hours, made a movement in advance. At this moment the Emperor was advised that the division of

French cavalry in reserve, had begun to form, and that two divisions of the troops of Marshal Ney had taken up their position in the rear of the field of battle. All the troops in reserve on the first line were then ordered to advance, who finding themselves supported, overthrew the enemy in the twinkling of an eye, and made them retreat precipitately. They did so in good order for the first hour; but this was converted into a frightful disorder the moment that our divisions of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the grand-duke of Berg at their head, were able to take part in the affair. These brave soldiers, trembling to behold the victory decided without them, threw themselves upon the enemy in all directions. Neither horse nor foot could withstand the shock. In vain did the Prussians form in square battalions. Five of them were broken through; artillery, cavalry, all was overthrown and taken. The French reached Weimar at the same time with the enemy, who were thus pursued for six leagues.

"On our right, Marshal Davoust was performing prodigies. He not only restrained, but continued fighting with the whole of the hostile troops which were to have defiled by Kœsen.

"The results of the battle are: thirty to forty thousand prisoners more are being brought in every minute; five and twenty to thirty flags, three hundred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of provision. Among the prisoners are more than twenty generals, some of them lieutenant-generals, and among others, Lieutenant-general Schmettau. The number of dead in the Prussian army is immense. It is reckoned that about twenty thousand are killed or wounded; field-marshal Mollendorff has been wounded; the duke of Brunswick is killed, also General Blucher; and Prince Henry of Prussia is grievously wounded. By the account of the prisoners, deserters, and such like, the disorder and confusion in the remains of the hostile army are extreme.

"The Prussian army has in this battle, been foiled in its retreat, and lost all its line of operations. Its left, pursued



by Marshal Davoust, effected a retreat upon Weimar, at the same time that its right and centre retired from Weimar upon Naumburg. The confusion, therefore was extreme. The king was compelled to retire from the field at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

"Our loss is reckoned at a thousand or twelve hundred killed, and three thousand wounded. The grand-duke of Berg was at this time investing Erfurt, where he found a body of the enemy, commanded by Marshal Mollendorff and the Prince of Orange. If it could enhance the claims which the army has to the esteem and consideration of the nation, nothing could surpass the favourable sentiments felt by those

who were witnesses of the enthusiasm and love which was evinced towards the Emperor in the heat of the battle. Wherever there was a moment's hesitation, the mere cry of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' reanimated the courage of all. In the midst of the struggle, the Emperor seeing his eagles menaced by the cavalry, galloped forward to order manœuvres and changes in the squares; he was interrupted every moment by the cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' The Imperial foot-guards, beheld with a spleen they were unable to conceal, every body engaged, and themselves inactive. Several voices shouted: 'Forward!'—'How now?' said the Emperor, 'this can only be some beardless young man who ventures to prejudge my actions, let him wait until he has commanded in thirty pitched battles before pretending to advise me.' It was, in effect, some recruits who were anxious to signalize their youthful valour.

"In so warm a fight, in which the enemy lost almost all their generals, we should thank that Providence which watched over our army, that no man of note has been killed or wounded. Marshal Lannes had his breast scratched without being wounded. Marshal Davoust had his hat carried away, and a great number of balls in his clothes."

Six thousand Saxons, and more than three hundred officers, were found among the prisoners of this day. Napoleon, determined to separate the Saxon from the Prussian nation, and to secure for himself an ally on the Elbe, against the court of Berlin, had these prisoners presented to him, and promised to send them all to their homes, if they would bind themselves never again to serve in opposition to France. "The place of the Saxons," said he, "was marked in the confederation of the Rhine. France was the natural protectress of Saxony, against the violence of Prussia. A term must be put to these aggressions. The continent has need of repose. It is requisite that this peace should exist, "even though it cause the downfall of several thrones."

The Saxons comprehended this language, gave the pledge that was required of them, and all returned to their families, with a proclamation addressed by the Emperor to their fellow-countrymen.

The battle of Jena was immediately succeeded by the taking of Erfurt, which capitulated on the 16th. The prince of Orange and field-marshal Mollendorff were taken prisoners.

On the same day the King of Prussia demanded an armistice, which Napoleon refused. However, General Kalkreuth, pressed by Marshal Soult, and fearing to be taken with a column of ten thousand men which he commanded, and among whom was the Prussian monarch himself, called for a suspension of arms, which he said had been granted by the Emperor. Marshal Soult would not believe it, and said that it was impossible the Emperor could commit a like fault, and that he would not observe this armistice until it should be officially announced to him. The Prussian general then repaired to the French advanced-posts, in order to confer with the Marshal, and commend himself to the generosity, one might almost say to the pity of the conqueror.

"General," replied the French warrior, "we have been used thus for a long time; our generosity is appealed to when one is conquered, and the next moment the magnanimity we are accustomed to shew is forgotten. After the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor granted an armistice to the Russian army; this armistice saved it. See how unworthily the Russians are now acting. Lay down your arms, and I will then await the orders of the Emperor."

The Prussian general retired confounded, and Marshal Soult, continuing in active pursuit of the enemy for several days, arrived on the 22nd under the walls of Magdeburg. The Prussians did not in the least comprehend these rapid marches, this promptitude of motion, which disturbed them sadly in their flight, and caused Napoleon to say in his 14th bulletin:

"These gentry are doubtless accustomed to the manœuvres of the seven years' war. They would demand three days to bury their dead. 'Think of the living,' replied the Emperor, 'and leave the care of interring the dead to us; there is no need of a truce for that.'"

Whilst Soult thus drove the enemy before him, in the direction of Magdeburg, and of course occasioned them continual loss in this pursuit, Bernadotte destroyed at Halle, the Prussian reserve commanded by a Prince of Wirtemberg. After this victory, the Emperor crossed the battle-field of Rosbach; and ordered that the column which had been raised there should be transported to Paris.

The battle of Halle took place on the 17th. On the 18th, Marshal Davoust took possession of Leipsic; and on the 21st the road to Magdeburg being closed to the Prussians by the troops of Soult and Murat, there was nothing but a species of *sauve qui peut* left for the remains of their army. The ancient enemy of France, the famous Brunswick, the author of the flaming manifesto of 1792, came forward to place his dukedom under the protection of the Emperor. Singular destiny of the first generalissimo of the European aristocracy opposed to the French Revolution! He was now on his knees before that same people, whom he had threatened fourteen years before with so much insolence and brutality; he feared for his palaces, for his own dwelling, the fire and sword, whose destructive power he had launched upon the capital of France, amongst the fields and cities of the great nation. Brunswick, dreading the reprisals which he had provoked, humbly solicited the generosity of the French soldier, over whom he had promised himself so easy a triumph; and with his manifesto in hand, he dared to demand of the hero, the successor and representative of the Republicans of 1792, to be treated with moderation, to be protected by the conqueror from the abuses of victory. How superb a monument for the triumphant Revolution! Providence conducts before it, in

consternation and a supplicant, the most ancient, the most haughty, the most obstinate of its proud enemies. The Revolution will know how to punish pride, and nevertheless evince its superiority by its indulgence; for it has Napoleon Bonaparte to speak and act in its name.

"If I were to demolish the town of Brunswick," said the Emperor to the Duke's envoy, "and not leave one stone upon another, what would your prince say? Does not the law of retaliation permit me to do to Brunswick, that which he wished to do in my capital? To announce the project of demolishing towns, might have been foolish; but to wish to take away the honour of a whole army of brave men, to propose to them to quit Germany by forced marches, at the mere summons of the Prussian army, is what posterity will scarce be able to credit. The Duke of Brunswick ought never to have been guilty of a like outrage; when one has grown grey under arms, one should respect military honour, and it was not, moreover, in the plains of Champagne that this general could have acquired the right to treat the French colours with such contempt.

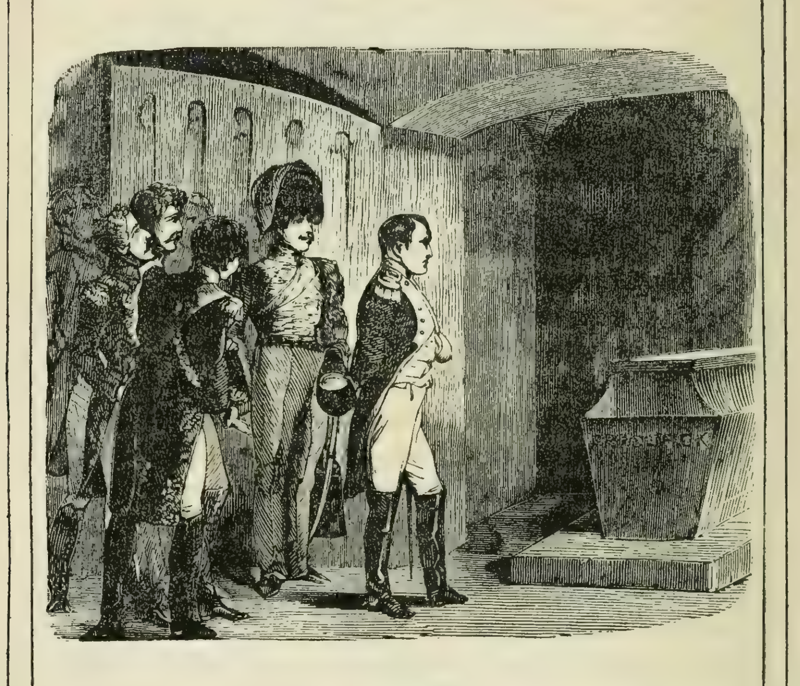
"To overthrow and destroy the habitations of peaceable citizens," repeated Napoleon several times with the greatest warmth, "is a crime which may be repaired by time and money; but to dishonour an army, to desire that it should fly from Germany before the Prussian eagle, is a meanness that he alone who counselled it could be capable of committing."

The dominions of the Duke of Brunswick remained, however, under the protection of the laws of nations. The Emperor arrived at Potsdam on the 24th. In the evening of the same day, he visited the palace of Sans Souci, the situation and arrangement of which appeared to him very fine; he remained for some time, and as though wrapped in profound meditation, in the chamber of the great Frederick, which was still furnished in the same manner as at his death.

On the following day, the 25th, after having passed in review

the Imperial foot-guards, commanded by Marshal Lefebvre he visited the tomb of Frederick.

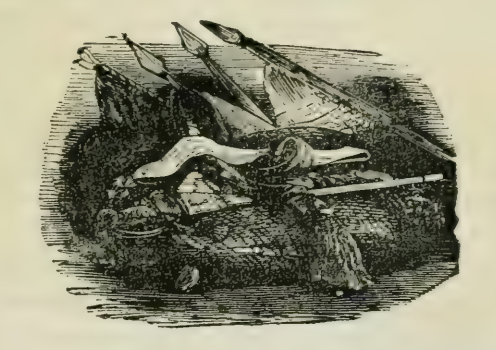
"The remains of this great man," said the eighteenth bulletin, "are enclosed in a coffin of wood, protected from harm by



copper, and placed in a tomb, without ornaments without trophies, and without any distinctions which can call to mind the great actions he has performed.

"The Emperor has presented the Hotel des Invalides at Paris, with the sword of Frederick, his ribbon of the Black Eagle, his general's sash, as well as the flags borne by his guard in the seven years' war. The old invalids of Hanover will receive with a religious respect, all that which has belonged to one of the first captains of whom history preserves the memory."

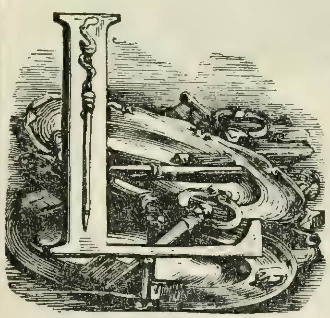
On finding that the court of Prussia had not thought of placing these glorious relics out of the reach of invasion, Napoleon exclaimed, eagerly displaying the sword of the great captain: "I prefer this to twenty millions."





CHAPTER XXIV.

Entry of Napoleon into Berlin. His sojourn in that capital. Continental blockade. Message to the Senate. Levy of eighty thousand men. Proclamation of Posen. Monument of the Madeleine.



LESS than a year after the taking of Vienna, viz., the 27th October, 1806, Napoleon made his solemn entry into Berlin, by the magnificent gate of Charlottenburg, surrounded by Marshals Berthier, Davoust and Augereau, by his grand-marshal of the palace, Duroc, and by his master-of-the horse, Caulincourt. He marched between the grenadiers and mounted chasseurs of the guard, on a road, which was flanked, in line of battle, by the grenadiers of the division Nansouty. The march was opened by Marshal Lefebvre at the head of the infantry of the guard. The population of Berlin had

hastened in crowds to meet the victor, whom they welcomed with the strongest demonstrations of admiration and respect. The keys of the capital were offered to the Emperor by the authorities of the town, whom General Hullin, commandant of the place, charged himself to present.

One of the first cares of the Emperor was to form a municipal body of sixty members, the election of whom he confided to two thousand of the wealthiest citizens. The city authorities having again repaired to him, having at their head, the prince of Hatzfeld, who had accepted the civil government of Berlin, in the name of the French, but who did not the less continue to correspond with the King of Prussia, in order to inform him of the movements of the victorious army. "Do not present yourself before me," said Napoleon to this prince, "I have no need of your services; retire to your estates." A few moments after, M. de Hatzfeld was arrested and handed over to a military commission.

His wife, daughter of M. de Schulenburg, informed of what had just happened, abandoned herself to the most violent despair, when it occurred to her to implore the clemency of Napoleon. Duroc encouraged her in it, and undertook to introduce her. She went, therefore to the palace, threw herself at the feet of the Emperor, and entreated him to spare the life of her husband, who she imagined was only in danger on account of the minister Schulenburg, one of the instigators of the war. Napoleon undeceived her, and informed her that M. de Hatzfeld corresponded with the King of Prussia, which proved that he had only sought the confidence of the French in order to betray them. Madame de Hatzfeld loudly protested the innocence of the prince, asserting that he was the victim of a frightful calumny. "You know the hand-writing of your husband," said the Emperor to her; "you shall judge." He immediately ordered the intercepted letter to be brought, and handed it to the lady. The princess was then more than eight months advanced in pregnancy. The emotion which

she evinced at each word, on perusing the undeniable proof of her husband's guilt, caused her frequent swoonings, from which she only recovered to give vent to groans and sobs. Napoleon was touched with the position of this unfortunate woman. "Ah well!" said he to her, "you hold the letter, throw it in the fire; this evidence destroyed, I shall no longer be able to have your husband condemned." This scene took place in front of a fire-place. The princess of Hatzfeld hastened to save her husband; the letter was burnt, and Marshal Berthier immediately received orders to set General Hatzfeld at liberty.

In one of his bulletins, the Emperor had greatly abused the queen of Prussia. "The Prussians," said he, "accuse the journey of the Emperor Alexander, as the cause of all the misfortunes of Prussia. The change which has since taken place in the mind of the queen, who, from a timid, modest woman, occupying herself solely with internal affairs, has become turbulent and warlike, has been a sudden revolution. She has all at once desired the command of a regiment, and to attend the council; she has led the monarchy so ably, that in a few days she has placed it on the brink of a precipice."

The Empress Josephine, on reading this denunciation published to the whole of Europe, against a young and beautiful queen, was grievously afflicted, and she explained herself frankly to her husband in a letter which reproached him with being too frequently pleased to speak ill of women. Napoleon replied:

"I have received thy letter, in which thou seem'st angered at my speaking ill of women. It is true that I hate intriguing females above every thing. I am accustomed to good, mild and conciliating women: such as these I love. If they have spoilt me, it is not my fault, but thine. Moreover, thou shalt see that I have behaved well towards one, who proved herself sensible and good, Madame d'Hatzfeld. When I shewed her the letter of her husband, she exclaimed sobbing, and with

profound innocence and feeling: 'It is indeed his handwriting.' Her accents went to my soul; she pained me. I said to her: 'Ah well! madam, throw this letter in the fire; I shall then no longer be sufficiently powerful to procure the condemnation of your husband.' She burnt the letter, and appeared to me exceedingly happy. Her husband has since remained quiet; two hours later, he had been lost. Thou seest, therefore, that I love good, frank, and gentle women; but it is because these alone resemble thee."

The day after his entry into Berlin, the Emperor gave audience to the ministers of Bavaria, Spain, Portugal, and the Porte. He received the same day the clergy of the divers protestant communions, as well as the courts of justice, which were presented to him by the chancellor. He conferred with several magistrates on different points of the judicial organization.

It was during his stay at Berlin, that Napoleon issued the famous decree which established the continental blockade, forbidding to the people and the allies of the French Empire all commerce and communication with the British Isles. This act, considered by some as a piece of madness, and which was generally attributed only to the blindness of hatred, was provoked, however, by the obstinacy of the English cabinet in constantly raising the continental powers against France. It was the result of this series of intrigues, perfidies, plots, hostilities and crimes of every description, by which the English aristocracy had fought the French democracy since 1792; it was the reply of the victorious Revolution to the monarchical fury of which it had been the object from its cradle, when it was placed under the ban of Europe, in the bosom of which, statesmen on the other side of the Channel, pretended that it had created "a vacuum." Since Burke and Pitt, who had wished to isolate France in the midst of the political world, again held sway, by their friends and disciples, in the councils of London, and caused the same ideas to become

predominant, why should France have neglected to make reprisals, and restrain from isolating, as much as possible, England in the midst of the seas? The blockade, with which the revolutionary genius had been threatened during fifteen years, was in its turn to confine the counter-revolution itself to its chief seat on the bosom of the Ocean. And besides, is it true that this blockade, merely regarding it with respect to material interests, had done nothing but injury to the nations of the continent, and that it had universally throughout Europe all the disastrous consequences which had been attributed to it. It caused, doubtless, reverses of fortune in maritime commerce, and subjected to momentary privations, that part of the population, who could not provide for themselves by fraud, or whom the exorbitant elevation of prices compelled to renounce the use of colonial products. But, besides that this state of things was only temporary, and that the blockade, even badly observed, did not the less produce the moral effect which the Emperor expected, it is also incontestable that European industry was not absolutely compromised by it, and that France, for example, was indebted to the decree of Berlin, for the creation of a fresh and very important branch of industry, that of the fabrication of indigenous sugar. Moreover, this result, immense for the future, had it been the only one, ought to have sufficed to render succeeding generations indulgent towards Napoleon, despite the temporary sufferings which his system caused the contemporary generation. "I found myself alone in my opinion, on the continent," said Napoleon; "I was compelled for the moment to employ violence in every quarter. At length they begin to comprehend me; already the tree bears fruit; time will do the rest.

"If I had not given way, I should have changed the face of commerce, as well as the path of industry. I had naturalized here, sugar and indigo; I should have naturalized cotton, and many other things. They should have seen me replace the colonies, if they had persisted in not giving us a share in them."

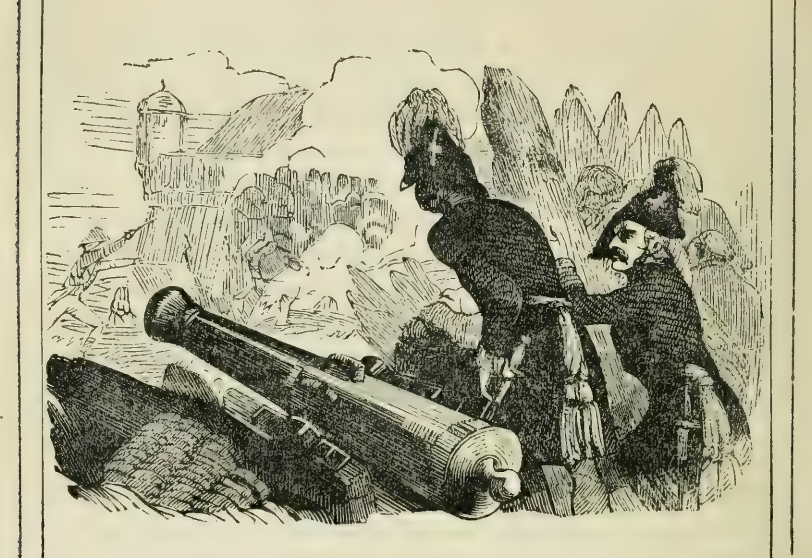
Whilst the Emperor busied himself in Berlin, with punishing the first authors of the war, and preparing himself for isolating England, in order to fight her on equal terms, and chastise her for her incessant violations of the rights of nations, the lieutenants of Napoleon left the enemy no repose, and pursued on all sides the remains of the Prussian army. On the 28th October, Murat took possession of Brentzlau, and forced Prince Hohenlohe to capitulate with his *corps* of the army. The next day, the fortress of Stettin fell into the hands of General Lasalle, commanding the right of the grand-duke of Berg; whilst General Milhaud, commanding the left, made a column of six thousand men lay down their arms.

Custrin yielded, on the 2nd November, to Marshal Davoust. Mortier possessed himself at the same time of the states of Hesse and Hamburg. At Fulde and at Brunswick, the armouries of the prince of Orange and the Duke were seized; "These two princes shall no longer reign," said the twenty-fourth bulletin; "for they are the chief promoters of this new coalition."

A signal success attended the French under the walls and in the streets of Lubeck. On the 6th November, Murat, Soult, and Bernadotte, by the skilfulness of their manœuvres, and their combined movements, met before this place, where the famous Blucher had conducted and shut up the last hopes of the Prussian monarchy. The assault was given; and Bernadotte penetrated into the town by the gate of Trava, whilst Soult entered by that of Mullen.

The resistance was animated. The fighting was still continued in the streets; but, on the morning of the 7th, Blucher, and the prince of Brunswick-OEls, at the head of ten Prussian generals, five hundred and eighteen officers, and more than twenty thousand men, presented themselves before the conquerors, demanded to capitulate, and immediately defiled before the French army.

In a few days, the other fortified places submitted in the



same manner. Magdeburg opened her gates on the 8th. The French found there, eight hundred pieces of cannon, and a garrison of sixteen thousand men. The Emperor had also directed a body of the army towards the Vistula, in pursuit of the King of Prussia, who fled precipitately with the ten or twelve thousand men who still remained with him.

On the 10th, Marshal Davoust entered Posen, the inhabitants of which, more Poles than Prussians, received him with enthusiasm. On the 16th, the thirty-second bulletin announced, "that after the taking of Magdeburg and the affair of Lubeck, the campaign against Prussia was entirely at an end."

On the same day, a suspension of arms was signed at Charlottenburg.

It was then that the Emperor busied himself with the decree, of which we have already spoken, in regard to the blockade of the British Isles. Prussia, struck as by a thunderbolt, no longer existed as a political power; but England, who

had urged Prussia to the war, still remained unharmed. Napoleon wished to injure, to isolate her from the rest of Europe, the nations of which, she was constantly inciting against each other, by her commercial monopoly and her diplomatic intrigues. The system which Napoleon conceived, wounds the principles of modern civilization; he felt this and expressed it; but he invoked the law, the right of reciprocity.

In demanding of the Senate a levy of conscripts, the Emperor communicated to it this great measure, with a declaration of the principles which he had adopted as a general rule. "Our extreme moderation," said he, "after each of the three first wars, has been the cause of that which has succeeded them. Hence have we had to struggle against a fourth coalition, nine months after those striking victories which Providence had granted us, and which ought to have procured a lengthened repose for the continent.

"In this position, we have adopted for the invariable principles of our conduct, not to evacuate, either Berlin, Varsovia, or the provinces which the force of arms has given into our possession, until the general peace be concluded, the Spanish, French, Dutch colonies restored, the stability of the Ottoman Empire established, and the absolute independence of this vast empire, the chief interest of our people, irrevocably fixed. We have placed the British Isles in a state of blockade, and we have ordered dispositions towards them which are repugnant to our heart. But we have been constrained for the good of our allies, to oppose to the common enemy the same arms which she made use of against us.

"We are at one of those moments, important for the fate of nations; and France will shew herself worthy of that which awaits her. The decree which we have ordered to be presented to you, will place at your disposal, at the commencement of the year, the conscription for 1807, which, under ordinary circumstances ought not to have been levied until the month

of September, and which will be eagerly effected by young and old. Could we call upon the young Frenchmen to take arms at a nobler period? in order to repair to their standards, they will have to traverse the capitals of our enemies, and the fields of battle rendered famous by their elders."

This demand was justified by the approach of the Russians, before meeting whom, Napoleon wished to prepare himself for commencing a fresh campaign, as soon as the season would permit. He quitted Berlin on the 25th November, and arrived on the 28th at Posen. Bad weather, fatigue, and privations had relaxed the ardour of the soldiers. After so many battles and victories, and the enemies of France driven beyond the Vistula, it seemed that the moment to halt had arrived, instead of hastening to give battle afresh.

The senate itself, usually so obsequious, had permitted this idea of moderation to be visible, in an address which the Emperor had received at Berlin. But the senate, the army and the people could not comprehend all the importance of the circumstances, all the tenacity of ancient Europe, all the exigency of the system which Napoleon had conceived, in order to render the implacable enemies of modern France incapable of forming fresh coalitions against her. The general desire was for peace, the Emperor knew it well; it was also his own wish. Napoleon knew better than any person in what places war would be advantageous to him, and on what conditions peace would be desirable and possible. It was therefore that, giving full swing to his sovereign intelligence, and without disturbing himself too greatly with the distant or neighbouring clamours which he might raise against himself, he marched straight into Poland, in order to crush the Russians there, instead of allowing them to reach Prussia, reunite the wreck, and restore the hopes of their vanquished allies. Doubtless he exposed himself thereby to being accused of provoking the war, as he had compromised his popularity by the continental blockade, although he only thought to raise

the English people against their obstinate ministers of war, by casting upon them the responsibility of this extreme measure. But Napoleon had long since said, that his elevation, being the work of circumstances, imperiously reclaimed the dictatorship. Besides, it was in his nature, as a man of genius, as well as in his mission of dictator, to know how to depend upon his own advice, to march boldly towards the accomplishment of his aim, even in the teeth of the disapprobation of the nations which God had placed under his powerful guidance, and to resolve as Mirabeau expresses it, "not to expect to have justice done him, but from time and posterity."

If the army, therefore, evinces any disposition to halt, when the conqueror in so many battles thinks it is necessary to proceed, can it be supposed that his genius will suddenly abdicate, in order to obey those which it ought to command? No, it would be for him, on the contrary, a fresh occasion to display his fascinating and irresistable superiority; and if there be among the troops, we will not say symptoms of discontent, but the mere desire of repose, he reanimates them with a word, and renders them more impatient than ever to resume the terrible game of war against the enemies of France.

"From the head-quarters at Posen,
2nd December.

"Soldiers," said he to them, "it is a year to-day, at this very hour, that you were on the battle-field of Austerlitz. The dismayed Russian battalions fled in disorder, or, surrounded, gave up their arms to the victors. The next day they sued for peace; but we were imposed on: scarcely escaped by our, perhaps, overweening generosity, from the disasters of the third coalition, they ventured upon a fourth; but that on which they founded their chief hope, existed no longer; their fortified places, capitals. magazines, arsenals, two hundred and eighty flags, seven hundred field-pieces, and five large fortresses are in our power. The Oder, the Wartha,

the deserts of Poland, the unseasonably bad weather, have not been able to stay you for a moment; you have braved, you have surmounted all; every thing has fled at your approach. It is in vain that the Russians have tried to defend the capital of this ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle soars over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, in seeing you, fancy they look upon the legions of Sobieski returning from their memorable expedition.

"Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms, until the general peace shall have fixed and assured the power of our allies, and restored to our commerce its safety and its colonies. We have conquered, on the Elbe and on the Oder, Pondicherry, our establishments in the Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Who gave to the Russians the right of balancing destinies, who gave them the right of overthrowing such just designs? They, and ourselves, are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz?"

This proclamation produced an immense effect, not only in the army of the Vistula, but throughout Germany; Bourrienne, himself, agrees with and attests this. Although a spirit of dissatisfaction might really have evinced itself in some of the tents, it would, after this, have availed nothing; Napoleon had replied to every insinuation, to all the rumours of discontent.

Before resuming the campaign, the Emperor wished by a monument to consecrate the prodigies of the two last wars. To the proclamation of the 2nd December, he added, the same day, a decree containing among other things:

"Art. 1st. There shall be erected on the Place de la Madeleine of our good city of Paris, at the expence of the treasure and our crown, a monument dedicated to the grand army, having inscribed on the front:

"THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY.

"2. In the interior of the monument shall be inscribed, on

marble tablets, the names of all the men, rank and file, who have assisted at the battles of Ulm, Austerlitz and Jena, and on tablets of massive gold, the names of all those killed on the field of battle. On tablets of silver there shall be engraved a recapitulation of the soldiers which each department furnished to the grand army.

"3rd. Around the base shall be sculptured in bas-reliefs, or represented, the colonels of each of the regiments of the grand army, with their names, etc., etc."

The other dispositions of this decree, ordered to be deposited, in the interior of the monument, the trophies taken from the enemy in these two campaigns, and the solemn celebration of the anniversaries of the battles of Austerlitz and Jena.





CHAPTER XXV.

Campaign of Poland. Peace of Tilsit.



ITTLE time had elapsed before the Emperor received the deputation of Varsovia, composed of the grand-chamberlain of Lithuania, Gutakouski, and of the chief members of the Polish nobility. Napoleon left Posen on the 16th December.

But the French army still continued its march. After having beaten the Russians in a skirmish at Lowiez, occupied Varsovia, and obtained the capitulation of Torgau, it passed the Vistula on the 6th, at Thorn, where Marshal Ney still found some Prussians who were easily dispersed. A remark-

able feature distinguished this passage. The boat which conveyed the advance-guard of the French, being detained by the floating ice, in the middle of the river, some Polish boatmen hastened to disengage it, in spite of the fire of the enemy, which was immediately directed against them. Seeing that the balls did not arrest them, the Prussians, in their turn, sent some boatmen to oppose the manœuvre of the Poles. A hand to hand struggle ensued. The Prussians were cast into the water, and the heroic and fraternal assistance of the Poles, crowned with success, conducted the French advance-guard, safe and sound to the right bank of the Vistula.



In a few days the whole army crossed. On the 11th, Marshal Davoust defeated a body of Russians, after having passed the Bug. A treaty of peace was concluded the same day with Saxony. The Elector entered into the confederation of the Rhine, and received the title of King. This was an important acquisition for the French system, which thus found itself established at the gates of Berlin.

The Emperor made his entry, on the 18th, into Varsovia.

He was besieged by the most pressing solicitations to induce him to re-establish the kingdom of Poland. He feared to commit himself, and only replied in such a manner as to leave him free to act hereafter. "I like the Poles," said he to Rapp, "their ardour pleases me. I would willingly make them an independent people; but it is a very difficult matter. Too many nations have had a slice of the cake; Austria, Prussia, and Russia; the match once lighted, there is no saying where the conflagration would cease. My first duty is towards France, and I ought not to sacrifice her for Poland; that would lead us too far. And, besides, we must look to the sovereign of all things, time; that will teach us what we have to do."

In the meanwhile, General Kaminski, irritated by the retrograde march of the other Russian generals, advanced rapidly to meet the French troops. Beningsen and Buxhowden having joined him, he regarded this union as a sure pledge of victory, and therefore, celebrated it at the castle of Sierock, by *fêtes* and illuminations which the French could perceive from the towers of Varsovia.

The Emperor quitted the capital of ancient Poland on the 23rd December, and immediately passing the Bug, over which he had caused a bridge to be thrown, in two hours, he directed the *corps* of Davoust on the Russians, who were beaten at Czarnovo, in a battle which lasted till the night was far advanced. General Petit carried the redoubts of the bridge by moonlight; at two o'clock in the morning, the rout of the enemy was complete.

This first repulse of General Kaminski was but the signal for fresh defeats, which he experienced on the 24th, 25th, and 26th, at Nasielsk, Kursomb, Lopackzyn, Golynim, and Pulstuck, which was succeeded by the Russian army making a precipitate retreat, after having lost eighty pieces of artillery, twelve hundred wagons, and from ten to twelve thousand men. Thus were the hopes realized which the Russian

general had manifested with so much pomp and *éclat* at the rejoicings at the castle of Sierock.

Breslau capitulated on the 5th January, 1807. The suburbs of this town had been already burnt by the besieged, and many women and children had perished in the flames. Jerome Napoleon had distinguished himself in this disastrous event, by carrying succour to the victims of the incendiarism. The French preferred renouncing the rigorous right which was granted them by the rules of war, than to violate the laws of humanity. They generously received the fugitives, instead of repulsing them to the besieged place which crowned the vast conflagration of their dwellings.

The Emperor had returned on the 2nd January to Varsovia. He there received the authorities of the town, the foreign ministers, and a deputation from the kingdom of Italy. In order to excite the emulation of the troops of the confederation of the Rhine, he rewarded the Wirtemburg *corps*, which had possessed itself of Glogan, by sending to the King of Wirtem- a portion of the flags taken in that place, and ten decorations of the Legion of Honour, to distribute among the bravest soldiers of this *corps*.

Hostilities remained as it were, suspended, for about three weeks. But, on the 25th January, they were advantageously resumed at Mohringen by Bernadotte, who routed the counts Palhen and Gallitzin, took from them three hundred men, and killed or wounded twelve hundred.

The Emperor was now apprised that great events had taken place at Constantinople. The Russians and Greeks had been driven from it, a price set upon the head of Ipsilanti, and war declared by the Sultan against Russia. Napoleon saw in this resolution of the Porte, not only the success of his diplomacy, but the influence of the rapid triumphs which he had obtained over the powers of the North. His efforts with Persia to raise fresh embarrassment for Russia on her Asiatic frontiers, succeeded equally. Proud and happy at this double diversion,

he made the importance of it evident in a message which he addressed to the Senate, in which he insisted on the necessity of guaranteeing the independence and the integral support of the Ottoman Empire, as the natural barrier to the invasion of the power of Muscovy. "And who can calculate," said he, "the duration of the wars, the number of campaigns it may be necessary to undertake some day, to repair the misfortunes which might result from the loss of the Empire of Constantinople, if the love of a cowardly repose, and the delights of the great city were to prevail over the counsels of a wise foresight? We should leave to our nephews a long inheritance of wars and mishaps. If the Greek tiara were raised triumphantly, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, we should see, even in our own times, our provinces attacked by a cloud of fanatics and barbarians; and if, in this too tardy struggle, civilized Europe should perish, our culpable indifference would justly excite the complaints of posterity, and would confer upon us the greatest opprobrium in history." This message replied more directly than the proclamation of Posen, to the pacific insinuations of the senate. It is, moreover, remarkable, that the same solicitude, which is here evinced by the Emperor of the French for the integral preservation of the Ottoman power, had been manifested, at the period of the Egyptian expedition, by the leader of the English cabinet, by Pitt himself, who gave utterance, solely with a view to British interest, to words analogous to those which Napoleon addressed to his senate for the interest of Europe, for the interest of universal civilization.

During his sojourn at Varsovia, the Emperor received the following petition:

"Sire,

"My baptismal certificate dates from the year 1690; I am, therefore, a hundred and seventeen years old. I still bear in mind the battle of Vienna, and the days of John Sobieski.

"I imagined they would never be reproduced; but

assuredly I expected less to have seen the days of Alexander revived.

"My great age has drawn upon me the bounty of all the sovereigns who have been here, and I claim that of the great Napoleon, being, at my advanced age, incapable of work.

"May you live, sire, as long as myself; your glory does not require it, but the happiness of mankind demands it.

"Narocki."



The Emperor, to whom this old man presented his petition himself, hastened to accede to his demand. He granted him a pension of a hundred napoleons, and gave him a year's pay in advance.

The news from Constantinople only irritated the Emperor Alexander, without inspiring him with the desire to cease hostilities on the Vistula to direct his forces towards the Danube. Far from this; profiting by the arrival of the re-inforcements which he had caused to be sent from Moldavia, he wished to draw the French from their winter-quarters, and all at once resume the offensive.

Napoleon saw with pleasure the dispositions of the czar. He gave Bernadotte orders to favour them, and to retire before the Russian army, in order to draw them lower down the Vistula. He afterwards quitted Varsovia, and rejoined Murat at Villenberg, on the evening of the 31st January.

The next day, the French army prepared to meet the Russians, whom they came up with at Passenheim, and caused them to fall back in great haste to take up a position at Suktdorf. Napoleon, thinking that they were likely to remain there, established himself between the Passage and the Alle, with his guard, the cavalry, the third and seventh *corps*, and charged Marshal Soult to carry the bridge of Bergfried in order to fall upon the left of the enemy.

Beningsen, who comprehended the importance of this position, had entrusted the keeping of the bridge of Bergfried to twelve of his best battalions. But all their intrepidity gave way before French bravery and impetuosity. The bridge was carried by storm, and the Russians left four pieces of cannon, and a large number of dead and wounded on the field of battle.

Napoleon had combined the movements of the different bodies of his army, so as to strike a decisive blow. But chance disarranged a part of his plans. The officer bearing his orders to Bernadotte fell into the hands of the enemy, and Beningsen profited by it to avoid the snare into which the genius and long experience of the leader of the French army would have betrayed him.

The battle of Bergfried, which took place on the 3rd

February, was, like those of Waterdorf, Dieppen, Hoff, and Preuss-Eylau, which took place on the 4th, 5th, and 6th February, only the prelude to one of the bloodiest days of the French military history. The church and cemetry of Eylau, obstinately defended by the Russians, were not carried, on the 6th, until ten o'clock in the evening, after a murderous combat on either side. On the 7th, at day-break, Beningsen commenced the attack by a spirited cannonade on the town of Eylau; the action immediately began on both sides. The French artillery did the enemy great mischief, whom Davoust was about to attack in the rear, whilst Augereau prepared to fall on their centre, when a heavy snow, casting both armies into obscurity, saved the Russians from certain destruction. Augereau entangled himself between the right and the centre of the enemy. The promptitude of conception of the Emperor, and the rapidity as well as the vigour of execution of Murat, were requisite, in order to withdraw him from this perilous position. The cavalry, supported by the guard, turned the division St. Hilaire, and fell unexpectedly on the enemy. Every thing that endeavoured to oppose it was overthrown; they traversed the Russian army several times dealing death on all sides. In the mean time, Marshals Davoust and Ney approached, falling, one on the rear, the other on the left of the Russians. Beningsen, seeing his rear-guard in danger, wished at eight o'clock in the evening to retake the village of Schnaditten, in order to have a point to fall back upon in his retreat; but the Russian grenadiers, whom he charged with this perilous attempt, completely failed, and were put to the rout. The next day, the Russian army retired beyond the Preget, hotly pursued, and leaving on the field of battle sixteen pieces of cannon, and their wounded.

The carnage on the day of Eylau was horrible. The fifty-eighth bulletin estimates the loss of the French at nineteen hundred killed, and five thousand seven hundred wounded;

and that of the Russians at seven thousand killed; but some historians pretend that this account is not correct, and make the loss of the Russians amount to six thousand killed and twenty thousand wounded; whilst the French had three thousand men killed and fifteen thousand wounded.

However it may have been, the battle must have been very murderous, since the Emperor, in three letters which he wrote to Josephine, during the month of February, always alluded with the deepest affliction to this subject. "We had yesterday," he says, "a great battle. The victory was mine, but I have been deprived of a great many men. The loss of the enemy, still more considerable, does not console me....

"The land is covered with the dead and wounded," he adds in his second letter; "this is not the noble portion of war. One is pained, and the soul is oppressed at the sight of so many victims."

When the enemies of France were not easily dispersed and totally beaten, they were accustomed to term themselves the victors. It was, therefore, natural that the battle of Eylau, where they had inflicted almost as much injury, as they had suffered themselves, should not appear to them sufficiently decisive to end the campaign, and lead to overtures of peace. Thus a week did not elapse without a fresh effusion of blood. On the 16th February, General Essen at the head of twenty-five thousand men, marched upon Ostrolenka, where he was beaten by the fifth *corps* of the French army, commanded by General Savary, seconded, in this victory, by Generals Oudinot, Suchet and Gazan. The son of the famous Suwarow perished in this battle.

On the same day, the Emperor, who was still at Preuss-Eylau published a proclamation ending thus:

"Having destroyed all the projects of the enemy, we will now near the Vistula, and return to our encampments. Whosoever dares to trouble our repose, shall repent of it; for beyond the Vistula, as beyond the Danube, in the midst of

the snows of winter, as at the commencement of the autumn, we shall always be French soldiers, and French soldiers of the grand army.

Always anxious to render homage to the memory of the brave, Napoleon ordered that the cannons taken at Eylau, should be cast into a statue of General d'Hautpoul, commanding the cuirassiers, who died of the wounds he had received on this terrible day.



He evinced his satisfaction to General Savary for his conduct at Ostrolenka, and recalled him to be near himself. The command of the fifth *corps* was entrusted to Massena.

After various battles, which have given some celebrity to villages hitherto unknown, such as Peterwalde, Gustadt, Lignau, etc., but which produced no important result for the issue of the campaign, the head-quarters of the Emperor were established on the 25th April at Finkenstein. Napoleon there issued a decree respecting the theatres of Paris, which he divided into major and minor theatres.

However, by dint of conquest, the French army had enfeebled itself by frequent murderous encounters, by the extent of the provinces which it had invaded, and by the number of places which it occupied. Fresh recruits therefore became necessary; the Emperor demanded them, which caused it to be said the announcement of any great success, was but the sigual for a levy

of conscripts. In the state of affairs, however, this demand was indispensable. Since the hostile powers, despite their innumerable defeats, persisted in continuing the campaign, and refusing peace on the sole conditions which France esteemed honourable, it was not for the victor cowardly to abandon the fruit of so many battles, and to put an end to the war by the sacrifice of his interest and glory. Napoleon made every reasonable concession, after having planted his victorious standard at Berlin and Varsovia, he again offered on the Vistula that which he had proposed before the campaign. "We are ready to conclude with Russia," said he to the senate, in the message of the 20th March, 1807, dated from Osterode, "on the same conditions which her negociator had signed, and which the intrigues and the influence of England have induced her to reject. We are ready to restore tranquillity to the eight million of inhabitants conquered by our arms, and his capital to the King of Prussia. But if so many proofs of moderation so frequently renewed, avail nothing against the illusions which passion suggests to England; if that power cannot find peace but in the abasement of France, it only remains for us to groan at the misfortunes of war, and to cast the blame and the opprobrium on that nation, which nourishes her monopoly with the blood of the continent."

The Emperor was convinced that his pacific proposals would not be accepted, until he should have taken from the Prussians their last resource, Dantzic, and obtained over the Russians a victory as decisive as that of Jena. This double aim hereafter fixed his attention.

Dantzic had been invested since the month of March, but several Russian regiments had been sent there by sea. General Kalkreuth commanded in the place. The besieging army was under the orders of Marshal Lefebvre. After several unavailing sallies, the garrison thought itself on the point of being delivered. On the 13th May, General Kaminski, son of the field-marshal of that name, came to the succour of the town

and attacked the French army. But the Emperor warned in time of his design, had sent Marshal Lannes and General Oudinot to reinforce Marshal Lefebvre. The Russians were vigorously repulsed at the battle of Weischelmunde; obliged to fall back upon the fortifications of this place, they hastily transported their wounded on board the ships which had served to convey them, and sent them back to Königsburg, in sight of the beseiged, who, from their ramparts, assisted in the disgraceful flight of their pretended liberators.

Encouraged by this success, the besiegers pushed their labours with the greatest activity. On the 17th May, a mine was sprung; on the 21st, Marshal Lefebvre gave the signal for assault, and the soldiers had already commenced operations, when General Kalkreuth demanded to capitulate on the conditions which he had formely granted, himself, to the garrison of Mayence; which was accorded him.

Napoleon attached such importance to the taking of Dantzic, that, on the first news which he had of it at his head-quarters at Finkestein, he hastened to order the clergy to return thanks publicly for this blessing, and to give a striking proof of his satisfaction to Marshal Lefebvre. "Doubtless," said he in a letter to the senate, "the consciousness of having done his duty, and the credit of our esteem, would suffice to retain a good Frenchman in the line of honour; but, the order of our society is so constituted, that to apparent distinctions, to a great fortune, are attached a consideration and an *éclat* with which we are anxious to see those of our subjects surrounded, rendered great by their talents, by their services and by their character, the first attribute of man.

"He who most effectually seconded us in the first day of our reign, and who, after having rendered services throughout the whole of his military career, now connects his name with a memorable siege, where he displayed the greatest talent, and a brilliant courage, appears to us to merit a signal distinction. Desiring, therefore, to commemorate so honourable an epoch

for our arms, we have, by means of letters patent, of which we charged our cousin the arch-chancellor to acquaint you, created our cousin the Marshal and Senator Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzic. May this title, borne by his descendants, recall to them the virtues of their father, and may they be deemed unworthy of it, if ever they prefer a cowardly repose and the inaction of the great city, to the perils and the noble bustle of the camp! May none of them terminate his career without having shed his blood for the glory and honour of our beautiful France; may they behold, in the name they bear, no other privilege, but their duties towards our people and ourselves."

If the Emperor had only wished to render great by titles, those who were so already by their talents, services and character, wholesome philosophy would have nothing to take up in this personal elevation of men who had merited well of their country; it would only regret, perhaps, that the striking distinction of which they judged them worthy, might serve to reproduce the superanuated distinctions which the reason of the age had long since caused to be abolished, as incompatible with the reign of equality, and to which were inevitably attached a reminiscence of aristocratic pride and privilege. But Napoleon did not confine himself to seek in heraldic bearings, formerly so ridiculous, the pomp and consideration which he was anxious should attach to those who surrounded his throne; he pretended to render this consideration and *éclat* hereditary, to make the heroes of the democracy and their descent disappear, under the pomp of the heraldic vanities, which the Revolution boasted to have destroyed. And as though he recognized himself the strangeness and ill consequence of a like pretension, he hastened to correct it, by morally annulling the benefit of hereditary succession, if the posterity of the ennobled warrior lost in the softness and inaction of cities, the remembrance of the bravery which served as a starting point to its nobility. Napoleon did not disturb himself for the consequences of the eventual contradiction

which he created between right and might, leaving thus to future generations the care of adjudicating again on noble descents, and of wearisomely recommencing the strife with degenerated races. And more, he required from the heirs of a great citizen, rendered a soldier by circumstances, that all, even to the last, should shed their blood in battle, in order to remain worthy of their aristocratic patrimony; seeming thereby to indicate, that, in the future, as well as in the past, the trade of arms would be alone noble, and thus disacknowledging the great revolution which is taking place before our eyes, and which will distinguish modern society from that of the middle ages, by replacing the military superiority of the feudal times by the pacific superiority of the intellectual and industrious classes of the world.*

But Napoleon had a great mission to fulfil, that of placing Europe, in spite of itself, in permanent contact with the French revolution, by the force of arms. Therefore, when he exalts a soldier, no matter by what means, he appears in his true character, for the soldier is the heroic and providential instrument which has been given him in order to accomplish his great task. And, consequently, we cannot repeat it too frequently, although he creates nobles as a recompence for the services rendered to the Revolution which has destroyed nobility, this anomaly will not resuscitate, but will complete the ruin of this ancient institution.

Whilst the last support of the Prussian monarchy had given way at Dantzic, negociations for peace had been opened between the French and Russians. But the English cabinet

* Napoleon better appreciated the tendencies of the age, when he said, on the occasion of the Legion of Honour:

"Our education and former manners, served to render us vain rather than profound thinkers. Thus, many officers were highly indignant at beholding the same decoration borne by themselves, descend even to the drummer, and equally embrace the priest, the judge, the writer and the artist. But this ill will is now past; we progress rapidly, and soon military men will esteem themselves honoured, to find themselves in confraternity with the first *savans*, and the most distinguished of all professions."

wished for a prolongation of the war; the exhaustion of her allies mattered little to her, providing she succeeded in wearying and exhausting France also. Moreover it was still easy to incite the Emperor Alexander to battle, he not having yet evinced one of those defeats by which Napoleon was accustomed to close the war. The Russian army, therefore, placed itself in motion on the 5th June, and hostilities immediately recommenced.

The bridge of Spanden was the object of the first attack of the Russians. Twelve regiments endeavoured to carry it; vigorously repulsed, they renewed their efforts seven times, and seven times were defeated. A single regiment of dragoons, the 17th, which was Bernadotte's *corps*, charged them in so spirited a manner after their seventh assault, that they gave way and beat a retreat. A similar attempt on the bridge of Lomitten had no better success. The Russian general there lost his life. Marshal Soult guarded this bridge.

The Imperial Russian guard, sustained by three divisions, and commanded by the General-in-chief who accompanied the grand-duke Constantine, was not more fortunate against the positions which Marshal Ney occupied at Altkirken. The brilliant fight at Deppen, which took place on the following day, cost the Russians two thousand dead and three thousand wounded. The success of the French army was attributed, in the official account "to the manœuvres of Marshal Ney, to the intrepidity which he shewed and communicated to his troops, and to the talent displayed by the General of Division, Marchand."

During eight days, the two armies prepared thus, by partial engagements for a general battle. At length they met on the 14th June, at Friedland. At three o'clock in the morning the cannon was heard. "This will be a fortunate day," said Napoleon, "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo."

Marshals Lannes and Mortier commenced the fire, sustained by Grouchy's dragoons, and the cuirassiers of Nansouty.

Nothing decisive resulted at first from the shock of the different bodies engaged. It was not until five o'clock in the evening



that Napoleon, having perceived the position of the battle, decided immediately upon taking the town of Friedland, by quickly effecting a change in his front. He ordered the attack to be commenced by the extremity of the right.

At half-past five, a battery of twenty pieces gave the signal. Marshal Ney set himself in motion. At the same moment, General Marchand, advanced, at the head of his division, on the enemy, making for the church of the town. This audacious attack, supported by the artillery, which occasioned the Russians a great loss, paved the success of the day. However, the enemy had placed his imperial guard, horse and foot, in ambush. When they saw the troops of Marshal Ney march towards their aim with so much intrepidity, across all

the obstacles which multiplied on their passage, this formidable reserve fell upon the left of the marshal. The shock was terrible. But General Dupont arrived with his division, and the victory remained definitively with the French. In vain did the Russians make all their reserve advance; Friedland was carried, in the midst of a horrible carnage. They left twenty thousand men on the field of battle, of whom fifteen thousand were killed and five thousand wounded, and among the number, thirty generals. "My children," wrote Napoleon to Josephine, "have worthily celebrated the battle of Marengo. The battle of Friedland will be equally celebrated and glorious for my people.... It is a worthy sister of Marengo, Austerlitz and Jena."

As soon as the news of this victory reached Konigsberg, the Russians and Prussians immediately evacuated the place. Marshal Soult entered there on the 16th June, and found immense riches, stores of grain, more than twenty thousand wounded, ammunition of all kinds, and among other things, a hundred and sixty thousand muskets, recently arrived from England, and still on board ship. On the 19th, the Emperor held his head-quarters at Tilsit.

The event for which the Emperor Alexander seemed to have waited, in order to think seriously of the peace, was at length accomplished; the Russian army had met in this fatal day, with a complete rout, a decisive defeat. On the 21st June, the czar and the King of Prussia concluded an armistice with the Emperor. On the 22nd, Napoleon addressed the following proclamation to his army:

"Soldiers,

"On the 5th June, we were attacked in our encampments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inaction, and perceived, too late, that ours was the repose of the lion: they now repent of their oversight.

"From the banks of the Vistula we have reached the waters of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. You

celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the coronation; you have this year celebrated that of the battle of Marengo, which put an end to the war of the second coalition.

"Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and me. You will return to France decked with all your laurels, after having obtained a glorious peace which bears with it a guarantee of its duration."

The basis of this peace was concluded by the three monarchs, in an interview which they had on the Niemen.

On the 25th June, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Napoleon, accompanied by Murat, Berthier, Duroc, and Caulaincourt, repaired in a boat, to the middle of this river, where



some pavilions had been set up on rafts in order to receive the two Emperors, and the King of Prussia. At the same moment, Alexander embarked on the other shore, with the grand-duke Constantine, General Beningsen, General Ouvaroff, Prince Labanoff and the Count de Lieven.

The two boats arrived at the same time. On setting foot on the raft, Alexander and Napoleon hastened to give the two

armies, encamped on either bank, a precursory sign of reconciliation; they embraced each other, and afterwards passed several hours together. The conference ended, the monarchs regained their separate boats and returned to their camps.

On the next day, the 26th, a second interview took place in the pavilion of the Niemen, at which the King of Prussia assisted. During several days, the three princes visited each other frequently, and gave *fêtes*. The most intimate friendship seemed to have suddenly replaced the hostile dispositions which had caused so much blood to be shed; an example which was followed by the officers and soldiers of the several armies. Sir Walter Scott observes, "that it was difficult to conceive, that men so courteous and amiable, had been for many months drenching trampled snows and muddy wastes with each others' blood."

The Queen of Prussia arrived at Tilsit, at noon, on the 6th July. Two hours after, Napoleon paid her a visit. She insisted, it is said, on the conditions of peace being rendered less hard for her crown. The fascinating manners, wit, and adroitness of this young and beautiful princess were such, that, as Napoleon afterwards admitted, had she been present at the commencement of the negociations, she might have exercised considerable influence on the result; but all the seductive powers with which nature and education had endowed her could not in the least change the resolutions taken before her arrival. At a dinner given by Napoleon, the Queen exerted all her talents to extort promises of power, and with such effect, that Napoleon was compelled to keep a strict guard over his words—a species of constraint which required the utmost vigilance, and being new to the Emperor, more than once drove him almost to extremity. The importunities of the Queen, however, were the means of accelerating the conclusion of the treaty, for in the evening, when she had retired, orders were sent to Talleyrand and Prince Kourakin, to bring the negociations to a close forthwith. "A woman

and a piece of gallantry," observed Napoleon, "ought not to be permitted to interfere with arrangements conceived for the welfare of nations." On the 8th, the treaty of peace was signed. France caused the continental blockade to be acknowledged by the kingdoms of Saxony, Holland, and Westphalia (this last was created for the benefit of Jerome, at the expence of Prussia, Hanover, and Hesse), and the Grand-duchy of Varsovia, which joined the confederation of the Rhine, of which Napoleon was proclaimed *Protector*, by the great powers of the North, against whom this alliance had been chiefly constituted.

Before quitting Tilsit, Napoleon had presented to him the bravest soldier of the Imperial Russian guard, and conferred



on him the golden eagle of the Legion of Honour, in testimony of his esteem for this body. He presented his portrait to Platoff, the hetman of Cossacks. Several baschirs, sent by

Alexander, came to perform a concert before him, after the fashion of their country.

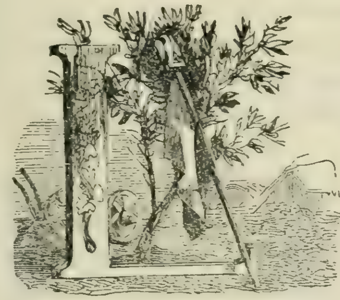
On the 9th July, at eleven o'clock in the morning, Napoleon, decorated with the broad riband of St. Andrew, repaired to the Emperor of Russia, whom he found at the head of his guard, wearing the grand decoration of the Legion of Honour. After passing three hours together, they mounted their horses and took the road towards the banks of the Niemen, where Alexander embarked. Napoleon followed him with his eye, until he had reached the opposite shore, in token of amity. The King of Prussia having come soon after to see the Emperor of the French, the latter immediately returned his visit, and afterwards departed for Konigsberg.





CHAPTER XXVI.

Return of Napoleon to Paris. Session of the Legislative Body. Suppression of the Tribunate. Journey of the Emperor to Italy. Occupation of Portugal. Return of Napoleon. Table of the progress of the arts and sciences since 1789.



EAVING the ancient capital of Prussia, where the Emperor stayed but a short time, on the 13th July, he arrived on the 17th at Dresden, accompanied by the King of Saxony, who had come to receive him at Bautzen, on the frontier of his dominions. On the 27th, Napoleon had returned to St. Cloud.

The senate, the tribunate, the legislative body, the clergy, the municipal body, in a word, all the authorities, civil, military, or ecclesiastic, came eagerly to lay their felicitations at the feet of the victorious monarch.

The Emperor wished to signalize his return by promotions and rewards. He conferred the dignity of senator on the Generals of Division Klein and Beaumont, on the Tribunes Curée and Fabre de l'Aude, on the archbishop of Turin, and on M. Dupont, one of the mayors of Paris. The Prince of Benevento, Talleyrand, was named vice-grand-elector; the Prince of Neufchatel, Berthier, received the title of vice-constable.

On the 15th August, the Emperor repaired in great pomp to Notre Dame, where *Te Deum* was sung, and thanksgiving offered up for the peace of Tilsit.

A deputation from the kingdom of Italy came to join its felicitations to those of the great bodies of the Empire; with which Napoleon expressed himself pleased. "I have evinced a sincere joy," says he, "during the course of the campaign, at the distinguished conduct which has signalized my Italian troops. For the first time, for many centuries, have the Italians appeared with honour on the great stage of the world; I trust that so favourable a commencement will excite the emulation of the nation; that even the women will send away those idle youths who languish in the boudoir, or will, at least, not receive them until they shall be covered with honourable scars. I am in hopes that before the approach of winter, I shall be enabled to make a tour through my Italian states."

The opening of the Legislative Body took place on the 16th August. It was done by the Emperor, who resuming at once all the grandeur of France, pronounced these imperishable words: "I am proud of being the first among you." Unhappily along with this noble expression of a sublime and legitimate pride, Napoleon allowed a somewhat paradoxical justification of the imperial titles which he had created, in order to serve as food for the vanities of another age, to escape. According to him, he had aimed thereby at "preventing the return of all feudal titles incompatible with our institutions,"

as if the re-establishment of titles consecrated by feudality could be seriously taken as an obstacle to their return, because certain privileges, become intolerable, dared not be added, more especially when that to which the greatest antipathy had been felt in the 18th century, at the period of the French revolution, was exhumed, the principle of hereditary succession.

Indeed, the institution of an hereditary nobility, was but the consequence of the foundation of a dynasty. After having announced himself, in a manner, as sent from on high, in order to restore the power, which he said had fallen in the mire, Napoleon allowed himself to be carried away by the reactionary movement, to which it gave the signal, in favour of the spirit of order and preservation. Thinking to act only within the limits of a legitimate foresight, against the exaggeration of the principle of liberty, he involuntarily increased the principle of authority, while he flattered himself that he was only establishing the aristocracy of merit, when he constituted men great by birth, and compelled himself to give a stability to his new empire, by supporting it on precisely the same props, which shook so violently half a century previously, under the weight of the monarchy of Charlemagne.

In his opening speech, the Emperor had also announced some modification of the constitutional laws. One might have been certain before-hand, that the result of his meditations would be but the developement of his dictatorial plans, and that he was about to destroy or cause to disappear that which still formed a fictitious representation, in addition to the real and absolute representation which he placed in himself. The Tribunate, despite the care which it had evinced to agree to every monarchical motion, was suppressed ; its name, alone, would have been sufficient to injure it. An institution, the origin and denomination of which incessantly reminded one of the Republican system, could not be long tolerated in the vicinity of dukes and princes, whose imperial munificence had again miraculously sprung up around his throne, in the persons

of the most noted detractors, and of the most formidable enemies of the ancient pomp. The tribunes, however, evinced an exemplary resignation; more courtier-like than ever, they thanked and blessed the hand which struck them, and seemed thereby to wish to justify the Emperor, by proving to France that the suppression of their body had nothing alarming for the national liberties, and that there would be one lie the less in the constitution of the state.

The Emperor also ordered some changes in the organization of the Legislative body, and in the form of its deliberations. It was requisite for the members of this body to be forty years of age, and its political existence was centred in three commissioners, who were to confer with the commissioners of the Council of State, on every project of law, the decision of which was reserved exclusively for the Government. The commercial code was voted in this session.

The war continued in the north, between France and Sweden. On the 19th August, the village of Stralsund was taken by the French, and the island of Rugen having capitulated on the 3rd September following, the conquest of Swedish Pomerania was complete. The King of Sweden remained, nevertheless, attached to the English alliance.

Napoleon, doubtless was grieved at seeing the Baltic open to the British flag, and the court of Stockholm obstinately opposed to the continental blockade. But there was still another kingdom, whose constant relations with England, still more disarranged the French system; this was Portugal. The house of Braganza, allied by its commercial interests, as well as by its political affinities with Great Britain, submitted to every thing required by the English cabinet, and paid no attention to the decree of Berlin, although it officially declared itself to be in a state of hostility with England, in order better to deceive Napoleon. This masked infidelity to the French alliance, was denounced to Europe by the Emperor, who sent a body of the army into Portugal, under the com-

mand of Junot, after having treated with the court of Madrid, for the passage of the Imperial troops through Spain.

Whilst Junot made for the Tagus, Napoleon again prepared to visit the banks of the Po and the Adriatic. Before his departure he received at a solemn audience, the Persian ambassador, who was the bearer of magnificent presents for the Emperor, at whose feet he laid among other remarkable objects, the sabres of Tamerlane and of Thamas Kouli-Kan.

Napoleon left Paris on the 16th November, 1807, and arrived at Milan on the 21st. A few days after, the Imperial guard, covered with the laurels of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, made its triumphal entry into the capital. Its arrival was the signal for great rejoicings. The Parisian authorities wished to feast it in the Hôtel de Ville, and the senate, even in its palace. The Emperor did not stay long at Milan; he was anxious to make himself known to the new subjects which the treaty of Presburg had given him. He arrived at Venice on the 29th November, on the same day that Junot, having traversed Spain, possessed himself of Abrantes, the first town in Portugal. The next day, the French army entered Lisbon, which the royal family had abandoned in sight of their dismayed people, in order to repair on board the English squadron and withdraw to the Brazils.

After having travelled through the Venetian states and Lombardy, and met at Mantua, with his brother Lucien, whom he wished to marry to the daughter of the Prince of the Asturias, Napoleon returned to the capital of his kingdom of Italy. He there published divers letters-patent, which conferred the title of Prince of Venice on the viceroy Eugene Beauharnais, and that of Princess of Bologna on his daughter Josephine; Melzi, the ancient president of the Cisalpine Republic, became Duke of Lodi. The Emperor having caused these acts to be read to the Italian legislative body, addressed them himself in the following manner:

"*Possidenti*, *dotti*, and *commercianti*, it is with pleasure

that I see you surrounding my throne. At my return after an absence of three years, I am rejoiced to observe the progress which my people have made; but how much still remains to be done, in order to efface the faults of our fathers, and to render you worthy of the destiny which I am preparing for you!

"The intestine divisions of our ancestors, their miserable egotism, prepared the loss of all our rights. The country was disinherited of its rank and dignity, that country, which, in bygone ages, had carried so far the honour of its arms, and the fame of its virtues. That fame, those virtues, I will make it my glory to reconquer."

These words were received with transport by the Italian deputies, the division of whom, into proprietors, *savans*, and labourers, corresponded better than the organization of the French legislative body, with the divers natures of the interests and capacities, the predominance of which in society, might justify or even necessitate its representation in politics. But this difference in the constitutional mechanism of two nations subjected to the same dominion, governed by the same sceptre, is explained by this circumstance, that, on the Italian soil, Napoleon, the man of the Revolution, had torn the power from the *ancien régime*, whilst in France he had dethroned other revolutionists. Indeed, at Milan, at Bologna, and at Venice, as throughout the rest of Europe, his natural enemies were the aristocracy and the clergy, on the abasement of whom he had founded the French power; the patriots sprung from the intermediate ranks, from the learned and laborious classes, were forced to render him their support. At Paris, on the contrary, he always bore in mind, that he gained the throne at St. Cloud, over the Republicans, over the disciples of modern philosophy. Hence his irresistible disposition to consider as suspicious, and to treat as dreamers those serious minds which spoke of liberty in their writings, and which occupied themselves with political speculations; hence the

exile of Madame de Staël, the disgrace of Benjamin Constant, his disdain for Tracy, Volney, Cabanis, etc.; and at length the suppression of the Tribunate, and of an important class of the Institute. The *dotti* of the kingdom of Italy, were but idealists beyond the mountains, so true is it that there were two men, or rather two characters in Napoleon, accordingly as he might be in the presence of the stranger, or before the eyes of France. A reformer in the organization of vanquished countries, he became a conservator when it regarded the internal administration of the Empire; the different positions he assumed on either side of the frontiers, was so contradictory, that it caused M. de Chateaubriand to observe that, "sometimes he took a step with the age, and sometimes retrograded towards the past."

Since the peace of Tilsit, England, whom the Emperor Alexander had vainly endeavoured to lead to a reconciliation with France, had only displayed more obstinacy and bitterness in her warlike resolutions. Furious at the official adherence of the great powers of the North to the Continental blockade, she had blindly repulsed the intervention of the czar, and sent twenty-seven ships and twenty thousand men into the Baltic, under the orders of Lord Cathcart, in order to force the King of Denmark to give up his fleet, terming it merely a deposit. This prince of course refused. The English admiral had replied to his noble resistance by the bombardment of Copenhagen, which was followed by the immediate capitulation of this capital, and the destruction of the Danish fleet. On learning this horrible violation of the rights of nations, which the English repeated on all sides, and under every shape, against the powerless neutrality, Napoleon resolved to continue the system of reprisal which he had adopted after the battle of Jena, and the decree of Milan served to give to the decree of Berlin all the rigorous extension which the circumstances appeared to require. In it the Emperor declared every ship "denationalized," which should



submit to the violent measure by which the King of England had placed all the ports of France and her allies in a state of blockade, and ordered every European ship met with at sea, to be searched, which might have been encountered by British cruisers.

Fresh territorial combinations still fixed the attention of the Emperor during his stay in Italy. Tuscany and the legations were destined to form part of the French empire. After having prepared every thing for this reunion, he again took the road to France. While crossing the Alps, he stopped at Chambery. A young man was waiting there for him, to entreat him to put an end to the exile of his mother; this was M. de Staël. Napoleon received him well personally, but remained very harsh towards the daughter of Necker, and towards Necker, himself. "Your mother," said he to him,

" ought to be satisfied with being at Vienna; she will have a good opportunity of learning German.... I do not say that she is a mischievous woman.... She has a mind; she has too much, perhaps; but it is a mind insubordinate and without curb. She has been brought up in the chaos of a crumbling monarchy and the Revolution; she amalgamates all this, which might become dangerous! If she were exalted, she would make proselytes. I ought to see to this. She loves me not; and for the interest of those whom she would compromise, I must not let her return to Paris. She would become the standard of the faubourg St. Germain.... She would make jokes; she attaches no importance to this; but I think much of it. My government is not a joke, and I take all matters seriously: it is requisite this should be known, and you can tell it to the world." Young de Staël protested the intention of his mother not to give any sort of umbrage to the Imperial government, and to see but a small number of friends, the list of whom should even be submitted to the approval of the Emperor; he then added: " Some persons have told me, that it was the last work of my grandfather, which had ill-disposed you towards my mother; I can, however, swear to your majesty, that she had no hand in it."—" Yes, certainly," replied the Emperor, " this work went a great way. Your grandfather was an idealist, a fool, an old maniac. At sixty years of age, to desire to throw down my constitution, and form plans for another; in faith, kingdoms would be well governed by these men of system, these inventors of theories, who judge of men by books, and of the world by a chart!.... The economists are the blockheads who dream of financial plans, and know not even how to fulfil the functions of *percepteur* in the least village of my Empire. The work of your grandfather is the work of an obstinate old man, who died enraged at the government of kingdoms." At these words the grandson of Necker was roused, and interrupting the Emperor, told him that doubtless he had received an account of the book from

malevolent persons, and that he had not read it himself, since his grandfather rendered justice in it to the genius of Napoleon."—"It is that which deceives you," promptly replied the Emperor; "I have read it myself from beginning to end. Yes, he renders me pretty justice! he calls me the necessary man! and according to his work, the first thing to do was to cut the throat of this necessary man. Yes, I was necessary, indispensable, to repair all the fooleries of your grandfather, to efface the injury which he has done France.... It is he who has caused the Revolution. The reign of terror is at an end; I wish for subordination. Respect authority, because it comes from God.... You are young; if you had my experience, you would judge of things better. Far from annoying, your frankness has pleased me; I like to see a son plead the cause of his mother.... Nevertheless, I do not wish to raise in you any false hopes, and I cannot hide from you that you will obtain nothing." M. de Staêl withdrew, and the Emperor said afterwards to Duroc: "Was I not somewhat harsh with this young man?.... I think so. Well, after all, I am very glad of it; it will deter others from coming on the same errand. These sort of people misrepresent every thing that I do; they cannot understand me."

Napoleon arrived at Paris on the 1st January, 1808. Three days after, accompanied by the Empress Josephine, he visited the celebrated painter David in his study, in order to view the picture of the coronation.

In the course of the same month, he laid down some definitive statutes for the bank of France, and reunited Flushing and its dependencies with the Empire. The fate of Portugal had not yet been decided upon. Although it was entirely submitted to the French army, Napoleon did not wish to act precipitately with respect to this kingdom. He contented himself with organising a provisional government, at the head of which he placed Junot, with the title of Governor-general, by a decree of the 1st February. The next day, he conferred the same

title on his brother-in-law, the Prince Borghese, for the departments beyond the Alps.

The National Institute fulfilled at this period, an important task, with which the Emperor had charged it in one of those moments in which the genius of the man, freed from the passions of the monarch, was occupied more especially with the general interests of civilization. Each of the three classes of this illustrious body, presented a report on the progress of that branch of human knowledge which was the special object of its labours. The historical *tableau,* thus drawn out in these reports, embraced literature, the arts and sciences, from the year 1789. Chenier was the reporter of the class which represented the ancient French Academy; Delambre and Cuvier explained the progress of the physical and mathematical sciences; Dacier spoke in the name of that portion of the Institute, which now forms the Academy of *belles-lettres,* and Lebreton presented the report of the class of the fine arts. The work of the Institute will remain as a monument of the greatness of the people who, in the midst of the torments of civil war, and the incessant anxieties of external warfare, had so ably cultivated the domain of intelligence, and had elevated themselves in the threefold career of *savan,* author, and artist, whilst Europe and the whole world believed them to be exclusively soldiers. This will also be an eloquent reply to the detractors of the Revolution, and, consequently, an indirect justification of all those who, like Necker, ill-treated by the Emperor, contributed, by their economical theories, and their plans of finance, to the explosion of that grand crisis; for, whatever Napoleon may have said, the idealists have fulfilled their tasks like conquerors: both may have ended by going astray, after having been for a moment the men of their age. Society, in its rapid march, often renews its guides; but it ought not to despise those which it leaves in the rear, because power has not been given them to follow him for ever. Necker, ridiculous in 1808, in the eyes of Napoleon who

then represented France, had been borne in triumph by the same nation in 1789.

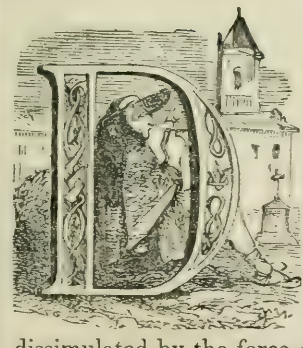
The character of the Emperor in private life, was cheerful, kind, and benevolent; with considerable indulgence for the weaknesses of others, and less follies of his own than might have been expected in his position and circumstances. Those who knew him, have always thus spoken of him; even those who expressed themselves the least lenient to what they esteemed the errors of his political career, or the madness of his ambition.





CHAPTER XXVII.

Affairs of Spain.



URING several years, the French Revolution had had to battle with the north of Europe, alone; but the south was rather subjugated than converted. The repugnances, the antipathies which it had given birth to at its origin, in every court, although compelled to be dissimulated by the force of arms, did not the less exist at the bottom of their souls; at Madrid and at Lisbon, as at Vienna, at Berlin and St. Petersburg, philosophy was an inconvenient neighbour, and especially so for the holy office of the Inquisition. Napoleon was not ignorant of this. He knew that the Spanish cabinet, like that of Austria, was ready to declare itself the ally of Russia, Prussia and England, when the battle of Jena came to deceive the hopes of the coalition.

A proclamation by the Prince de la Paix (the famous Godoï) had developed the real intentions of the Escurial. This premature manifestation cost Charles IV. his authority; he was forced to stoop to every thing required by Napoleon, in order to be forgiven the hostile dispositions of which he had run the hazard of being suspected. Hence this sending of an auxiliary *corps* into Germany, under the orders of La Romana, and the imprudent passage granted to the French troops for the conquest of Portugal. *Corps* of observation were formed along the whole line of the Pyrenees, under different names, and with the apparent destination of reinforcing and supporting the Lusitaman expedition. The Emperor not only wished to punish the old offences and the aggressive language of 1806; he thought especially of securing himself for the future from any offensive enterprise on the part of the southern powers, in case of fresh ruptures with the sovereigns of the north. He also occupied himself with the rigorous execution of the decrees of Berlin and Milan; and his severity in regard to this, naturally directed itself more particularly towards the maritime states, such as the two peninsulas. Already his measures were taken at Naples and Lisbon, and greatly advanced at Rome, as we shall perceive later. But it was Spain, washed by two seas, governed by a Bourbon, and formerly surprised in a state of hostility towards France, that it chiefly imported to subject to the French system. The military occupation of the southern provinces and forts of this kingdom was then resolved upon.

The *corps* of observation of La Gironde and the Pyrenees received orders to march. Marshal Moncey entered the Basque provinces. Dupont established himself at Valladolid, and Duhesme penetrated into Catalonia. At that time, there were not less than seventy thousand French in the Peninsula, not including Junot's *corps*. These troops were received without opposition in the fortified places.

If the Emperor had only required a safe guarantee for the

fidelity of the court of Madrid to the French alliance, the occupation of these important points would have sufficed. But the internal situation of Spain and the domestic occurrences in the palace of the Escurial, changed his primitive plan, and offered to his ambition and genius, the opportunity of uniting the Spanish and French nations, not only by a permanent invasion, but by a Revolution.

The monarchy of Charles V. was then conducted by one of those men, whom God never fails to place at the head of kingdoms, when he permits them to fall in order to regenerate them: the royal family was also stamped with the sign of decay: the blood of Louis XIV. was sullied in the eyes of the world; the insolence of an upstart, and the effrontery of vice obtained the homage of Castilian pride; the weakness of power, an inevitable precursor of its ruin, was at its height; the lover of the queen had become the favourite of the king, and the tyrant of Spain; Godoï mastered, dishonoured and caused to be lost, an august race whose destiny was accomplished. "His ascendant," says a writer attached to the Bourbons, "over the royal family was unbounded; his power was that of an absolute master; the treasures of America, were at his disposal, which he employed in infamous seductions; he had, in a word, made of the court of Madrid, one of those places where the indignant muse of Juvenal conducted the mother of Britannicus."

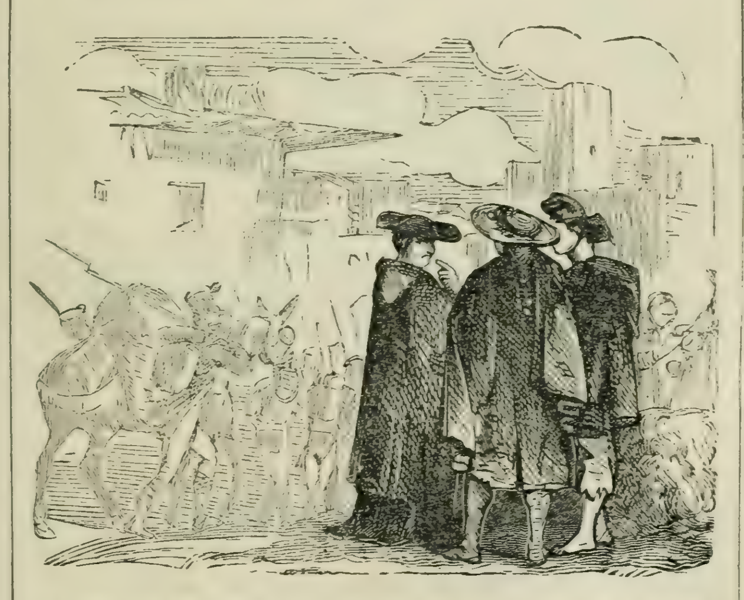
This was evidently what is called the sign of the times! The divine protection was visibly withdrawn from the kingdom of Pelagius, as in the previous century it had abandoned the throne of Clovis. Spain had also its regency. The seal of degradation no longer allowed the traces of the holy oil to be visible on foreheads crushed by the weight of a crown overladen with rust and opprobrium. But royalty was not alone subjected to the enfeebling encroachments of decrepitude. The vigorous sinews of middle age were exhausted in all parts of the social body. The nobility and the clergy, the

natural support and mighty auxiliaries of the royal power, in the days of its splendour, shared with it the miseries and infirmities of old age. The last hour of the *ancien régime* was also at hand beyond the Pyrenees; Napoleon felt himself called upon to give the signal, to sound the fearful knell of its interment.

At first, we repeat it, he had only thought of assuring himself of the fidelity of a suspected ally. Bat when he beheld the royal family lose itself through scandal and discord, the people agitated by the revolutions of the palace, Charles IV. and Ferdinand, imploring at his feet, the one in opposition to the other, the protection of France, the king and queen denouncing their son, and the son dethroning and outraging both, it appeared to him that he could do better in Spain than occupy fortresses, and that the moment had arrived to change the miserable aspect of this noble and beautiful country, by uniting it more closely with his empire, and causing French ideas to predominate in Madrid, either under the name of Charles IV., or under that of Ferdinand, or any other pretender whom it might suit him to choose. With this aim, he directed Marshal Bessières, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, to march towards the Basque provinces, in order to reinforce Moncey and Dupont, and gave the command in chief of the expedition to Murat, who fixed his head-quarters at Burgos, in the beginning of the month of March.

As soon as the approach of the French was known in Madrid, the people became mutinous, and the court fled to Arranjuez. Godoï, who had for a moment flattered himself with having deceived Napoleon, and secured him for his own interests, perceived the vanity of his hopes, and basely counselled Charles IV. to imitate the house of Braganza, and retire to Spanish America. The king could not do other than obey his favourite; he consented to set out immediately for Seville. But the preparations for departure irritated the Castilian pride. The suspicion of perfidy, which fell on the Prince de

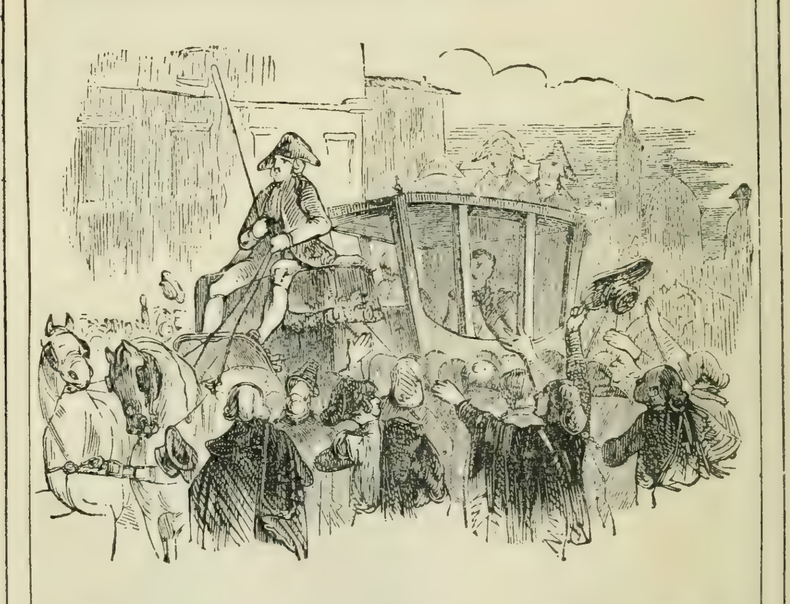
la Paix, was received with more credit and became more violent; on the 16th March the national anger exploded. The palace of Aranjuez was beset by a furious populace, demanding with loud cries the head of Godoï. The favourite's hotel was broken into and pillaged; and he himself only escaped certain death by being concealed in a loft. Then Charles IV., who had endeavoured to calm the people, by announcing to them that the Prince de la Paix consented to give up all his offices, beheld himself forced to lay down the royal dignity. He published a solemn act of abdication in favour of the Prince of the Asturias, who immediately took the title of Ferdinand VII., and commenced his reign by the confiscation of the property of Godoï, who had been thrown into prison in order there to await the judicial vengeance of the new monarch.



Scarcely had the first rumour of these events reached Burgos, than Murat hastened to march upon Madrid. He

entered there on the 23rd March, at the head of six thousand soldiers of the guard, and the *corps* of Dupont and Moncey, in the midst of a stupified and mistrustful, but unterrified people.

The next day, Ferdinand VII quitted Aranjuez in order also to make his entry into the capital of Spain. The ominous silence which, on the preceding evening had received the French, was changed to the highest enthusiasm on the approach of the new king. The entire population hastened to meet him, impatient to salute the prince who had delivered them from the ignominous yoke of Godoï.



The diplomatic body sanctioned by an official juggle the events of Aranjuez, and made no scruple of acknowledging the king of the revolt. The French ambassador, alone, in accordance with Murat, avoided declaring himself. The French generalissimo, sent, moreover, a message to Charles IV., to assure him of his protection, and to offer him his

assistance. At first, the old king only thought of saving and recovering his favourite. "He has no other fault," said he, "than that of having been attached to me all my life; the death of my unfortunate friend would ensure mine." Godoï was therefore restored to him.

Charles IV. afterwards protested against the abdication which the popular insurrection had torn from him; he denounced the violence to which he had been subjected, to the Emperor, in a letter which he charged Murat to have conveyed to him. On his side, the Prince of the Asturias wrote equally to Napoleon, whose powerful intervention in favour of his father, he dreaded, in order to justify the events which had prematurely raised him to the throne, and to rest his budding authority on the support of the French alliance. Napoleon comprehended, by the receipt of these two letters, that the pretended masters of the Spanish monarchy placed themselves at his feet, incapable as they both were of sustaining its burthen. But the character of the Spanish nation occasioned him some fears, and still left him in uncertainty. "Do not imagine," he wrote to Murat, on the 29th March, "that you have but to exhibit your troops in order to subject Spain. The revolution of the 20th March, proves that there is energy amongst the Spaniards. The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain. If they fear for their privileges and for their existence, they will rise against us in shoals. Spain has more than a hundred thousand men under arms, which is more than is requisite to carry on with advantage an internal war. Divided on several points, they may serve as an obstacle to the total overthrow of the monarchy. I present you at a glance with some obstacles which are inevitable; there are others which you will feel. England will not let this occasion escape of multiplying our embarrassments. The royal family not having quitted Spain, to establish itself in the Indies, nothing but a revolution can change the state of this country. It is, perhaps,

the least prepared of any state in Europe for it. If it were in the interest of my empire, I could do much good to Spain. Which are the best means to take?

"Shall I go to Madrid? It appears to me difficult to make Charles IV. reign there; his government and his favourite are so unpopular that they would not last three months.

"Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and he is therefore elected king. To place him on the throne, would be to serve the factions, which, during five and twenty years, have longed for the destruction of France. We must do nothing precipitately, but must take counsel on the events which are likely to follow. I have given orders to Savary to visit the new king, in order to observe what is going forward. He will concert with your imperial highness; and you will manage so that the Spaniards may not suspect the part which I intend playing. This will not be difficult for you; I know nothing of it myself. You will tell them that the Emperor desires to see perfected the political institutions of Spain, and to place them in relation with the state of European civilization. That Spain has need of recreating her governmental machine, and that she requires laws which may guarantee the citizens from the arbitrariness and the usurpations of the feudal system; institutions which will reanimate industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will paint to them the state of tranquillity, and the ease enjoyed by France, despite the wars in which she is engaged; the splendour of the religion, which owes its establishment to the Concordat I have signed with the Pope. You will demonstrate to them the advantages which they may derive from a political regeneration; order and peace internally, externally, power and consideration. Such must be the spirit of your discourse and of your writings. Do not hurry the thing; I can wait at Bayonne, I can pass the Pyrenees. I will think of your private interests, do not trouble yourself about them. You proceed too rapidly in your instructions of the 14th. If war were to be kindled, all would be lost. It

is for policy and negociations to decide the destinies of Spain."

Before taking any fixed resolution, Napoleon wished for a closer view of the state of things, and to convince himself of the exigences and capabilities of the situation. Leaving Paris on the 2nd April, he arrived at Bordeaux on the 4th, and waited there for Josephine, who rejoined him on the 10th. They marched together towards Bayonne, where they made their entry on the 15th. The Château de Marrac, destined to witness one of the greatest political events of the period, became for several months the Imperial residence.

The day after his arrival in Bayonne, the Emperor proceeded to reply to the Prince of the Asturias. Deferring his judgment on the merit and validity of the abdication of Charles IV. he gave to the son the title of royal highness, only, spoke to him of the danger for princes, in accustoming the people to do themselves justice, and pointed out to him the political suicide which he would commit, and the shame with which he would be covered, if he allowed himself to be induced to dishonour his mother, by instituting a scandalous process against the favourite. The Emperor ended his letter, by expressing in few words, his desire for an interview. An immediate study of the personages was necessary for him to form his determination. If the flight to Mexico had been realized, the question would have been rendered simpler, the position less embarrassing, the regeneration of Spain more easy. But the departure not having taken place, and the popular commotion remaining triumphant, there were two kings instead of one, whose fate it was necessary to determine. The side to espouse under the circumstances was puzzling, and Napoleon did not wish to decide until each of the rivals had been submitted to the test of his penetration and incomparable sagacity.

The Prince of the Asturias at first hesitated to yield to the wish of Napoleon. However, whilst some of his counsellors pointed out to him a snare in the proposed interview, others

endeavoured to convince him of the importance of being before-hand with his father, and of rendering the first impressions, always so difficult to destroy, favourable towards himself. Ferdinand yielded to the latter advice; and quitting Madrid, to the great regret of the Spanish people, filled with uncertainty and anxiety, took the road towards the frontiers of France. Arrived at Vittoria, he there wished to wait for the Emperor; but the latter did not come, and the same considerations which had brought the young prince to Alava, induced him to proceed to Bayonne. On the 20th April, accompanied by his brother, Don Carlos, he presented himself at the Château de Marrac, where Napoleon was. Charles IV. soon followed the Prince of the Asturias. Not wishing to leave the field open to him at Bayonne, he hastened thither with the queen and favourite, to place himself under the protection of the Emperor. Then, the *parvenu* soldier, the choice of the people, the child of the French Revolution, beheld at his feet the descendants of St. Louis, the heirs of Pelagius, the guardian of the sword of the Cid, placing at his discretion the destiny of this ancient and vast monarchy, the possession of which, caused Philip II. so proudly to exclaim, "that the sun never sat in his dominions!" What a lesson, in this picture, for ancient Europe! In front of those haughty Pyrenees, which a Bourbon had vainly endeavoured to level by dynastic arrangements, the middle age degenerated, covered with opprobrium and struck with exhaustion, miserably dragging itself, accompanied by the public pity and contempt, to go and beg at the château de Marrac for a few hours further existence, or there to deposit, before expiring, the rays of its past grandeur, its extinct pomp, and its tarnished glory, at the feet of the majestic representative of the *éclat* and greatness of the modern era!

The Prince of the Asturias wished for a conference with his father, in order to come to an understanding with him, and render useless the intervention of the powerful mediator

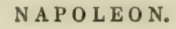
whom they had chosen. With this intent, he one day attempted to follow Charles IV. into his apartment, but the old king repulsing him, said warmly: "Hold, prince, have you not sufficiently outraged my grey hairs?" The next day he reproached him with his conduct in a letter in the bitterest terms, which did not escape Napoleon, and which thus ended, in allusion to the disturbance at Aranjuez. "Every thing should be done for the people, and nothing by them. To forget this maxim, is to render oneself guilty of all the crimes which may arise from such forgetfulness."

However, Napoleon had learnt in a few days to know and appreciate the two personages whom he had come to study. At the first interview, Charles IV. and his son were judged, irrevocably judged. "When I beheld them at my feet," Napoleon has since said, "and could judge myself of all their incapacity, I took pity on the fate of a great nation; I seized the only opportunity which fortune presented me with, for regenerating Spain, separating her from England, and closely uniting her with our system. In my opinion, it was laying a fundamental basis for the repose and security of Europe. But far from employing ignoble and feeble means, as has been represented, if I have erred, it is, on the contrary, by an audacious frankness, by an excess of energy. Bayonne was not a mere trifle, but an immense, a splendid stroke of policy. I disdained tedious and common paths; I found myself powerful! I dared to strike from my elevation. I wished to resemble Providence, which remedies the ills of mortals by means of its will, sometimes violent, without disturbing itself with the opinions formed in consequence."

Napoleon has judged himself admirably in these last words; he has characterized with sublime frankness and perfect truth, his resolution with regard to Spain. It was "an immense, a splendid stroke of policy." He acted like Providence, which strikes sometimes violently those it wishes to save, without disturbing itself with the opinions of men. And how

could he have acted differently, since he was, after all, but the agent of Providence, in the great work of Spanish regeneration; since he was so much under the influence of a superior inspiration, and above the combinations of common prudence, that he threw himself upon this enterprise, despite of the obstacles which he had foreseen and pointed out to Murat in his letter, and that he there found, in effect, the termination of the pomp which made him suppose invincible, the end of "his morality in Europe." according to his own expression; the end of his power, the end of his dynasty? But what matters to Providence, what imports to humanity the termination of all these things, if the providential aim is fulfilled, if human reason preserves and aggrandizes its empire, although a potentate may lose his?

Yes, Napoleon might well affirm "that the war of Spain destroyed him; that all the circumstances of his disasters connect themselves with this fatal knot (*Memorial*)." But the overthrow of his prodigious fortune and of his dynastic hopes will be preceded by a struggle of six years, during which the two most civilized nations of Europe, the French and English, will meet in Spain, and import, the one, the democratic manners, the other the constitutional ideas of their country. Although after that, the issue of the war may be, definitively, fatal to the French arms, modern philosophy will not the less have sojourned for a long time, and exercised its proselytism in the vicinity of the Holy Office, sheltering itself under the tents of the allies of Spain, as well as beneath those of her conquerors. Locke and Bentham will have established themselves in the bivouacs of Wellington, whilst Condillas and Montesquieu will have visited the banks of the Ebro, of the Mancanères and of the Tagus, in the *suite* of Napoleon. And when the Imperial troops will be forced to repass the Pyrenees and abandon their conquest, the *ancien régime*, on its return, will find every where the germ of liberal ideas, hatred of the inquisition and of monarchical power, and



love of liberty. As ferocious then as it was formerly cowardly, it will steep its hand in the blood of its most illustrious liberators, because they still observe the constitution which saved their independence. But all the monstrosity of this ingratitude will make martyrs, and not slaves. It will not be in vain that Cadiz will have for six years her national tribune, and that Madrid, Pampeluna and Barcelona will

have become French towns. Porlier will be imitated by Lacy, Mina by l'Empécinado; then will come Quiroga and Riego; and if absolutism now finds a support in France; this unhoped-for alliance will have the same results as the English alliance. That which the veterans of Napoleon will have commenced, the young soldiers of Louis XVIII. will finish. Enrolled against the constitution of Cadiz, they will continue to initiate the Spanish people, by their contact, into constitutional habits and opinions; and the royal cause of the tumult at Aranjuez, after having recompensed with the galleys or the scaffold, the liberal Spaniards, who heroically reconquered the throne which he had so shamefully abandoned, will see himself compelled, on his death-bed, to place the sceptre of Castile, the inheritance of his children, under the protection of that spirit of reform, the generous propagators of which he so cruelly persecuted. Then, we repeat, although nothing more remains of the personal might of Napoleon and of the destinies which he had reserved for his family, it matters not: the flag of civilization will not be the less planted in Spain, and, in the midst of calamities which will have desolated contemporary generations, and which might have lasted a still longer time, the infancy of the new Spanish people will have ended by being accomplished. This was the chief aim of Napoleon. He expressly indicated this in his letter to the grand-duke of Bern; he repeated it at St. Helena. "In the crisis France was placed in," he says; "in the struggle of new ideas in the great cause of the age against the rest of Europe, we could not leave Spain behind. (*Memorial.*)"

Everything concurred to render more prompt and firm the resolution of Napoleon. An insurrection had taken place in Madrid; which though appeased by rivers of blood, left the capital of Spain in a state of effervescence which, from hour to hour increased in the provinces. It was no longer time to hesitate: the Bourbons could no longer reign over the Spanish people, but at the good pleasure of the rebels, hostile to the

French influence. On the 3rd May, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of Napoleon; and, five days after, the Prince of the Asturias, and the Infants Don Carlos, Don Antonio, and Don Francisco, ratified this abdication, and renounced all pretension to the throne of Spain. The old king withdrew to Compiegne, with the queen and the inseparable Godoï; the Infants took up their abode at Vallencay.

This abandonment of the crown by Charles IV. and his sons, raised the irritation of the Spanish nation to the highest pitch. The insurrection became general; juntas were formed in all parts to organize and direct the defence of the country against the foreign invasion. A central junta was afterwards established at Seville. The Spaniards taken as a body, according to the expression of Napoleon himself, conducted themselves as men of honour.

This noble attitude answered the foresight of the Emperor; but once engaged, he could not recede, and besides, he still relied on the ascendant of his fortune and the power of his arms. He named on his side, a junta, which he invested with the government of Spain, and appointed his brother-in-law, Murat, president. This junta was scarcely installed, than it demanded for king, the brother of the Emperor, Joseph Napoleon, who then occupied the throne of Naples.

Napoleon began by announcing to the Spaniards the events of Bayonne, in a proclamation wherein he explained the good he had proposed doing by accepting the solemn secession of the 5th May. "After a long struggle," said he, "your nation will perish. I have observed your wants, and wish to remedy them. Your monarchy has become old: my mission is to restore its youth. I will ameliorate all your institutions, and, if you second me, will enable you to enjoy the benefits of a reform without enfeeblement, disorder, or convulsions.

"Spaniards, I have convoked a general assembly of the deputations from the provinces and cities; I wish to assure myself of your wants and desires.

"I will then lay down all my rights, and I will myself place your glorious crown on the head of another, guaranteeing you a constitution which shall connect the holy and salutary authority of sovereign with the liberties and privileges of the people. Be full of confidence and hope under the present circumstances; for I am anxious that the remotest of your posterity should preserve my memory, and say:—'He was the regenerator of our country.'"

This proclamation was published on the 25th May, at Bayonne. On the 6th June following, an imperial decree, dated from the same town, called Joseph Napoleon to the throne of Spain and the Indies. This prince did not delay his arrival. Before repairing to Madrid, he passed some time with the Emperor, and even received at Bayonne the deputations which Murat had been commissioned to address to him, from all the provinces subjected to the French arms. It was in this city that on the 6th July, the general junta, convoked by Napoleon, assembled. A constitution based on that of the year VIII. was presented to this assembly, which immediately adopted it.

But this was but a fictitious representation of the Spanish people. Some of the French generals attached too much importance to it; they thought it would suffice to subject Spain, or at least to reduce it to a mere state of mutiny, easy to suppress, the general insurrection which was organizing in all parts of the Peninsula. This error was fatal to one of them. General Dupont, who had behaved so nobly at the victory of Friedland, detached himself from the other *corps* of the French army to fall upon Andigar and penetrate into Andalusia, where the revolt was making rapid strides. This imprudent movement had unfortunate results. Scarcely had Bessières gained the battle of Rio-Seco, and Moncey, and possessed himself of Valencia, than the defeat and capitulation of Baylen tarnished the splendour of the French arms, and taught Europe that the armies of Napoleon were not invincible.

Dupont surrounded by Castanos, laid down his arms, and his *corps* of the army, from eighteen to twenty thousand men strong, were made prisoners of war. At this news, the insurrection increased in all the other provinces of the Spanish monarchy, and the king Joseph judged it prudent to order the French army to retire beyond the Ebro.

Napoleon, who had left Bayonne on the 22nd July, learnt at Bordeaux the defeat and capitulation of Dupont. He was indignant thereat, and said to one of his ministers. "There is nothing in an army being beaten; the lot of arms is chequered, and a defeat may be repaired; but for an army to make a shameful capitulation, it is a spot upon the French name, upon the glory of arms. Wounded honour is not to be cured. The moral effect of it is terrible. How! a Frenchman been unworthy enough to lay down the French uniform, to clothe himself with that of the foe. They have been so infamous as to consent to our soldiers being crowded in their dungeons like thieves! Could I have expected this from General Dupont, a man whom I cared for, whom I was advancing in order to create him a marshal! They say there was no other means of saving the army, of preventing the butchery of the soldiers; it had been better for them all to have perished with arms in their hands, for not a single one to have returned; their death would have been glorious, and we should have avenged them. Soldiers may be again met with; but honour is never to be regained." (*The Consulate and the Empire.*)

General Dupont was handed over to the Imperial high court, and Napoleon, himself, wrote in the *Moniteur* of the 10th August, the following lines:—

"There are but few examples of a conduct so opposed to all the principles of war. General Dupont, who knew not how to direct his army, has since shewn, in the negociations, still less civil courage and skill. Like Sabinus Titurius, he has been dragged to his ruin by a spirit of opposition, and he

has permitted himself to be deceived by the tricks and insinuations of another Ambiorix; but more fortunate than ours, the Roman soldiers all died sword in hand."

If the disgrace of the capitulation of Baylen was ineffacable, the material losses occasioned by this catastrophe were not the less so. Napoleon, however, occupied himself with raising the hopes and courage of the French soldiers in Spain. He ordered fresh levies, sent reinforcements, and in order to testify his own confidence in the definitive result of the war, and to manifest that his resolution of closely uniting the Spanish nation with the French Empire was still the same, still unchanged, he ordered by a decree of the 13th August, the commencement of a high road from Madrid to Paris.





CHAPTER XXVIII.

Return of the Emperor to St. Cloud. Diplomatic communications. Troops sent into Spain. Interview at Erfurt. Return to Paris. Visit to the Museum. Session of the Legislative body. Departure of the Emperor for Bayonne. Fresh invasion of Spain. Capture of Madrid. Abolition of the Inquisition. Symptoms of hostility with Austria. The Emperor precipitately quits the army in Spain, to return to Paris and repair to Germany.



LEAVING Bordeaux, the Emperor returned to St. Cloud, where he arrived on the day of his *fête*. He there received with great ceremony the Count de Tolstoi, the Russian ambassador, who brought him the magnificent presents with which he had been entrusted by the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon ordered them to be exposed to the public view at the Tuileries.

Always careful to efface every trace of the internal dissensions of France, in order to arrive more easily at the

realization of his system of fusion, he decreed the foundation of numerous public establishments, of all kinds, in the departments which had been the theatre of the civil war.

The news of the battle of Vimiera, between Lord Wellington and Junot, meanwhile arrived at Paris. The French, completely beaten, had been forced to capitulate. They were compelled to evacuate Portugal, and return to France on board English vessels.

This second check of his arms beyond the Pyrenees, however humiliating it might be, did not discourage Napoleon, whose mind was so completely made up with regard to the Peninsula, that he said to the senate, on the 4th September: "I am resolved to push the affairs of Spain with the greatest activity, and to destroy the armies which England has disembarked in this country. I confidently impose fresh sacrifices on my people; they are requisite, in order to spare them greater ones." In this message which was followed by a report of the Minister Champagny on the affairs of Spain, the Emperor deplored the loss of the Sultan Selim, his ally, whom he termed the best of the Ottoman Emperors, and who had just perished by the hands of his nephews. He congratulated himself, by way of compensation, on his intimate alliance with Alexander, "which would leave England no hope in her projects against the peace of the continent." The Senate replied to the Emperor by the vote of a levy of eighty thousand conscripts. "The will of the French people, sire," said this body, through the medium of its president, Lacépède, "is the same as that of your majesty.

"The Spanish war is politic, just, and necessary."

One circumstance which we must not omit, is, that the orator of the senate declared, in his harangue, that this body had been unanimous in eagerly acceding to the wishes of the Emperor.

However, the want of fresh reinforcements became every day more pressing in Spain. The insurrection, triumphant,

always reigned in the capital and the chief provinces. It was not by recruits, recently organized, that victory was to be brought back to the standard of France. Napoleon therefore addressed himself to his veteran phalanxes, to the conquerors of Austerlitz, of Jena and of Friedland. At a grand review which he held at the Tuileries on the 11th September, he announced to the soldiers of the grand army that he would shortly march with them into Spain, where the great nation had so many outrages to avenge.



"Soldiers," said he to them, "after having triumphed on the banks of the Vistula, you have traversed Germany by forced marches, I will now lead you across France without allowing you a moment of repose.

"Soldiers, I have need of you: the hideous presence of the leopard sullies the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. At your aspect, may it flee overwhelmed with consternation; let us bear our triumphant eagles even to the columns of Hercules! there, also, have we outrages to avenge.

"Soldiers, you have surpassed the renown of modern armies; but you have equalled the glory of the armies of Rome, which, in the same campaign, triumphed on the Rhine and on the Euphrates, in Illyria and on the Tagus.

"A long peace, a lasting prosperity would be the price of your labours; a true Frenchman cannot, ought not to take any repose until the seas are rendered free and open to all.

"Soldiers, all that which you have done, all that which you will yet do for the happiness of the French people, and for my glory, will be eternally impressed upon my heart."



These words only served to increase the enthusiasm of the soldiers of the army of the North, which was already at so

high a pitch. They were anxious, after so many wars fomented by England, after so many triumphs obtained over her allies, to meet, at length, face to face, and to measure themselves with the soldiers of this queen of the seas, who was held up to them in every proclamation, as the eternal enemy of the continent.

The first body formed of these magnificent and formidable batallions, left Paris, on the 23rd September, under the command of Marshal Victor. After traversing the capital, they were received at the barriers, by the prefect of the Seine and the Municipal body.

But before marching himself at the head of the troops which he sent into Spain, Napoleon, still under the influence of the deceitful impressions which he had received at Tilsit, with respect to the czar, wished to sanction by another interview, the strict friendship which he had conceived for Alexander, and in which the latter appeared to participate. He felt the necessity of conferring with this prince, who was, after himself, the most powerful of the continental monarchs, on all the actual questions of European policy, and chiefly on the affairs of Spain. Erfurt was chosen for the seat of the interview. The two Emperors arrived there at the beginning of October; all the princes of the confederation of the Rhine had repaired thither, as if to form, around their superb protector, a circle of crowned courtiers. Napoleon, in order to render the stay at Erfurt more agreeable to his illustrious friend, had ordered the players of the *Comédie Française* to accompany him. At one of the representations, Alexander affected to seize with transport, and applauded with all his might, a line, of which every one easily made the application:

'The friendship of a great man is a blessing from the Gods.'

Eight days passed thus in *fêtes*; but politics were not lost sight of. The banquets and spectacles were succeeded by the most important conversations. The Emperor of Russia appeared anxious to lead England to peace; he even signed with Napoleon a pressing letter to this effect. But the future will prove

his sincerity! He afterwards gave his entire approbation to the Spanish war, because he saw in it a very advantageous diversion for the North, in the war against the Revolution, and moreover an opportunity of enfeebling or ruining the two countries whose rivalry was most formidable to the Russian Empire, France and England.

The two sovereigns separated on the 14th October, very well satisfied with each other; Napoleon sincerely believing himself the friend of Alexander, and little thinking that he would one day say of him:—" He is a faithless Greek!"



On the 18th October, the Emperor returned to St. Cloud. Four days after, he visited the Museum with the Empress, and amused himself for a long time with the artists who hastened to do the honours of their temple to the glorious protector of the arts.

The opening of the legislative body took place on the 25th. Believing himself sure of Russia, the Emperor spoke with confidence of his designs and hopes in regard to Spain. "It is an especial blessing of that Providence which has constantly protected our arms," said he, "that passion has so blinded the English council as to make them renounce the protection of the seas, and at length exhibit their army on the continent. I depart in a few days to place myself at the head of my troops, and, with the aid of God, to crown the King of Spain in Madrid, and plant my eagles on the forts of Lisbon. The Emperor of Russia and myself have met at Erfurt; we are of one mind, and invariably united for peace and war."

The Emperor, indeed, departed from Paris on the 19th October, and arrived, on the 3rd November, at the castle of Marrac. On the 5th, his head-quarters were at Vittoria, and on the 9th, at Burgos, after a victory of Marshal Soult over the army of Estremadura. On the same day, Marshal Victor beat the army of Galicia at Espinosa de los Monteros.

The plan of Napoleon was to isolate these two armies from each other, in order to destroy them separately. He had directed Victor against Blake, and Ney and Moncey against Castanos, who still commanded the army of Andalusia, whilst he placed himself in the centre of the operations, with Soult, and a reserve of cavalry confided to Bessières.

This distribution of his forces had already fully succeeded. The army of Estremadura was dispersed, that of Galicia destroyed. The fugitives from the battle of Espinosa, having endeavoured to reorganize themselves at Reynosa, were forced by the approach of Marshal Soult to abandon their ammunition and arms, and take refuge in disorder in the mountains of Leon.

The right of the French army was thus entirely disengaged; but on the left there were Palafox, who commanded in Arragon, and Castanos, the conqueror of Baylen. Whilst Soult overran and disarmed the province of Santander, the Emperor

charged Marshal Lannes to hasten in pursuit of the armies of Arragon and Andalusia. Marshal Ney was detached towards Soria and Tarazon, in order to place himself between Castanos and Madrid, so as to cut off the road to the capital, in case of this chief meeting with a defeat, and to cause him to fall back again on Valencia.

The manœuvres of Lannes obliged the Spanish generals to retire between Tudela and Cascante. There, supported by the Ebro, and their forces amounting to at least forty-five thousand men, they thought they might accept battle. But they had presumed too much on the advantages of their position, on the number and courage of their soldiers. Marshal Lannes completely routed them, and avenged on Castanos, himself, the French honour which had been com-



promised at Baylen. The battle of Tudela cost the Spaniards seven thousand men, thirty cannon, and seven flags. Palafox retired on Saragossa, and Castanos on Valencia.

On learning this fresh victory, Napoleon resolved to march immediately on Madrid, leaving Soult, on the right, to watch

the movements of the western provinces, and Lannes, on the left, to keep the remains of the army of Arragon in check. Ney continued to observe the army of Andalusia.

But Spanish patriotism had not yet wearied. Fresh levies in Estremadura and Castile had formed, and organized another army, which, being twenty thousand men strong, threw itself across the path of the Emperor, and attempted to close the defile of Somo-Sierra. The first of the French troops were, in fact, stayed for some moments, by the fire of the batteries which defended this narrow passage, which was very difficult of access. It required even the presence of Napoleon and the irresistible impetuosity of the cavalry of the guard, to overcome the vigorous resistance of the Spaniards. But on the appearance of the Emperor, at a signal given, the *chasseurs* and Polish lancers charged at full gallop, and in the twinkling of an eye, every obstacle was removed. The French army



passed over the prostrate enemy, sabred the gunners at their pieces, and presented themselves at the gates of Madrid, without meeting with any further trace of the Spanish army,

which had determined to arrest its progress at Somo-Sierra. This brilliant feat of arms took place on the 29th November, seven days after the battle of Tudela. On the 1st of December, the head-quarters of the Emperor were established at San-Augustino, in the vicinity of the metropolis, which capitulated on the 4th, the day after the capture of Segovia, by Marshal Lefebvre.

Madrid had at first shewn signs of standing on the defensive. Forty thousand armed peasants, and eight thousand regular troops, besides the militia, had shut themselves in the town with a hundred pieces of cannon. Barricades were rapidly thrown up: and every thing augured so vigorous a resistance, that two messages from the Emperor had been received with contempt and fury. The firing then commenced, and was directed on a palace (Buen Retiro) which commanded the city. As soon as this important post had been carried by Marshal Victor, after several sanguinary efforts, the town was threatened with immediate destruction. This menace produced its effect. The Spanish army evacuated Madrid, the irregular troops disbanded, and the authorities signed a capitulation.

Napoleon signalized this conquest by a great action, which the irritation of the Spanish people prevented them from acknowledging, as they have since done. On the same day as the capitulation of Madrid, the inquisition was abolished and the number of convents considerably diminished.

Napoleon afterwards addressed a fresh proclamation to the Spaniards.

"You have been misled by perfidious men," said he to them, "they have engaged you in a senseless struggle. In a few months you have been freed from all the anguish of popular factions. The defeat of your armies has cost me but a few marches. I have entered Madrid; the rights of war authorize me in making a great example, and in washing out with blood the outrages offered to myself and my nation; I have listened to clemency alone. I told you in my proclamation

of the 2nd June, that I wished to become your regenerator. To the rights which were ceded to me by the princes of the last dynasty, you have wished that I should add those of conquest. This will not in the least alter my dispositions. I would even laud whatever there may be of generous in your efforts; I will acknowledge that your true interests have been concealed from you... Spaniards, your fate is in your own hands. Reject the poison which the English have shed amongst you. I have destroyed whatever was opposed to your prosperity and grandeur; I have broken the fetters which oppressed the nation; a liberal constitution offers you, instead of an absolute, a temperate monarchy. It depends on you to render this constitution your law.

"But if all my efforts are of no avail," he added in conclusion, "and if you do not respond to my confidence, it will only remain for me to treat you in the light of conquered provinces, and to place my brother on another throne. I will then transfer the crown of Spain to my own head, and will teach all its opposers to respect it; for God has given me the strength and the will, requisite to surmount every obstacle."

The Spaniards turned a deaf ear to this language, as little touched by the menaces as by the promises of the Emperor. But the word constitution was not pronounced in vain; Castilian independence took possession of it, and the leaders of the insurrection found themselves led by the force of circumstances, to endow Spain with a more democratic constitution than that which had been adopted at Bayonne.

The corregidor of Madrid, at the head of a deputation from the town, laid at the feet of the conqueror, the expression of sentiments which did not exist in their souls, but of which the manifestation was rendered necessary by the military occupation of the capital. "I regret," replied the Emperor, "the ills that have befallen Madrid; and I esteem myself particularly fortunate in having been enabled to save it, and to spare it greater evils.

"I have hastened to take measures which may tranquillize each class of the citizens, knowing how wearisome is uncertainty for all people and for all mankind.

"I have preserved the religious orders by diminishing the number of the monks. No man in his senses can affirm that they were not too numerous. With the surplus of the wealth of the convents, I have provided for the wants of the curates, the most interesting and useful class of the clergy.

"I have abolished that tribunal, against which the age and all Europe exclaimed. The priest should guide consciences, but ought not to exercise any external or corporal jurisdiction over the citizens.

"I have suppressed the rights usurped by the nobles in the time of the civil war.

"I have suppressed the feudal rights, and any person will be enabled to establish hostelries, mills, fisheries, and to give free scope to his industry. The egotism, the riches and prosperity of a few men, injured your agriculture more than the extreme heat of the noon-day sun.

"As there is but one God, there should be in a state but one justice. All private justice had been usurped and was contrary to the rights of the nation. It has been destroyed.

"I have also made every one acquainted with what he might have to fear, with what he might hope for.

"There is no obstacle capable of retarding long the execution of my will.

"The Bourbons can no longer reign in Europe.

"Generations will vary in opinion, too many passions have been brought into play; but your descendants will bless me as your regenerator; they will place among the number of memorable days, those on which I appeared amongst you."

During his short stay in the capital of Spain, Napoleon occupied himself with inspecting the condition, and sustaining the courage of his troops. On the 9th December, he passed in review the *corps* of Marshal Lefebvre, on the Prado; on

the 10th, those of the confederation of the Rhine; and on the 11th, those of the cavalry, amongst whom figured the Polish



lancers. The colonel of this fine body, received from the hands of the Emperor, at this last review, the cross of commander of the Legion of Honour.

It was from Madrid, that Napoleon sent to the *Moniteur*, a note denying a reply made by the Empress to a deputation of the legislative *corps*, and in which Josephine had placed this body at the summit of the political hierarchy, by saying "that it represented the nation."

Napoleon declared, in his official despatch, "that the first representative of the nation, was the Emperor."

Great outcry has been made against this pretension; it was however, conformably to the legal order of the period, and founded, above all, on the power of facts.

The people, which had raised Napoleon to the throne, first by acclamations, and afterwards by their suffrages regularly expressed, might more naturally regard their representative in him, than in an assembly, the nomination of which was foreign to them.

And besides, was the legislative body fitted to govern

France, and to meet all the exigencies of her situation, in the midst of the circumstances in which Europe was then placed, as Napoleon did? No, doubtless. It was, therefore, he who held in his glorious and powerful hands all the present and future destiny of the nation, who was its true representative, and not the useless assembly which was itself but an emanation of the Imperial power, from the very manner in which it made its elections; and which would have been incapable of accomplishing that which the vigorous arm of the dictator and the genius of the great man realized.

However, whilst the Emperor occupied himself at Madrid with the organization of Spain, which did not prevent him from watching over the discourses and actions of those persons who represented him at Paris, the military operations were continued in the Spanish provinces, where the insurrection was again rising from its ashes in all parts.

The English had quitted Portugal to hasten to the succour of the capital of the Spanish monarchy; but General Moore, despairing of arriving there in time, suddenly changed his plan, and conceived the project of bearing for Valladolid, in order to cut off the communications of the French army. This resolution was fatal to him. Assailed on one side, cut off on another, he saw himself constrained, at Palencia, to commence a disastrous retreat, which led him, under the constantly victorious sword of Marshal Soult, as far as Corunna, where he was mortally wounded, after having lost ten thousand men, horses, cannon, and munition of all sorts. The remains of his army had scarcely time to regain the sea; they abandoned Corunna to the Marshal, after a vain attempt at defence, which lasted three days. Soult had also dispersed, during this pursuit, the Spanish *corps* of La Romana, which had taken refuge in the mountains of the Asturias.

The Emperor, himself, went to meet the English, as soon as he was informed of their movement on Madrid. It was under his orders, and in his presence, that operations had

commenced in Galicia. Early in January, his head-quarters were successively held at Astorga, and at Benevento. During this expedition, it had also been established in the outer



buildings of the convent of St. Claire, where Jane, the mother of Charles V. died. This convent had been constructed on the

site of an ancient palace of the Moors, of which a bath and two halls remain in very good preservation. The abbess, who was sixty-five years of age, had herself presented to the Emperor, who received her with great distinction, and granted her divers requests.

In Catalonia, the success of the French arms had not been less striking. Gonvion St. Cyr had penetrated into Barcelona, after having taken possession of Roses; and the Marquis of Vivès, beaten at Cardade, had fallen into disgrace with the junta.

Thus, since the arrival of the Emperor in Spain, every thing had altered its appearance; victory had returned to his banners, as eagerly, as rapidly, and with as much brilliance as had hitherto attended him in Germany, and in Italy.

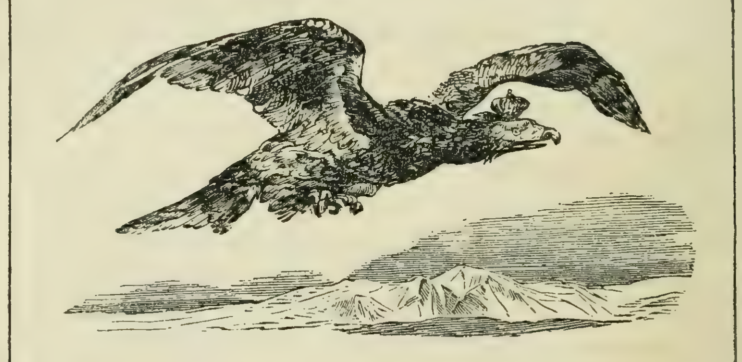
In less than two months, the English army had been annihilated, the *corps* of La Romana destroyed, the capital reconquered, the chief provinces occupied. The disasters of Dupont and Junot were thus more than repaired. Although the Spaniards still persisted in their hatred towards the French dominion, the English cabinet, nevertheless, began to fear that they would be finally crushed for a long period, subdued unless rallied; and despite the precarious character of their subjection, the legitimate succession would not have suffered the less, in this first war, the most favourable which had yet been maintained against the Revolution. It was therefore requisite to drive from Spain the invincible genius who had repaired thither in order to destroy the great hopes conceived after the capitulations of Baylen and Cintra. English diplomacy charged itself with leading him back to the North, with compelling him again to divide his strength. It was not Prussia, still bleeding freely from the terrible blows which she had received at Jena, which served this time as the instrument of the St. James's cabinet; neither was it Russia, who had not healed her wounds received at Friedland, and who, moreover, would not have dared so soon to develope the hypocrisy of the amicable protestations

of Erfurt; it was Austria, recovered from the depression and consternation which she had manifested after Austerlitz, who consented to provoke anew the too generous conqueror who had imprudently spared her. Three years of peace and repose had sufficed her to reorganize her armies; she felt herself prepared to take the field, and if she met with success, the old diplomacy would then shew that she considered herself no more connected with Berlin and St. Petersburg by the treaty of Tilsit, than she had considered herself affected at Vienna by that of Presburg. Whatever might happen, they would always be sure of finding refuge in the generosity of the victor. If they met with fresh reverses, they could make a new treaty. Some territorial concessions might perhaps be exacted; but the throne would still remain firm, and the cause of ancient royalty would have been saved in Spain, by enticing its formidable adversary into the heart of Germany.

Napoleon was at Valladolid when he heard of the hostile dispositions and armaments of Austria. After having received in this town numerous deputations from Madrid, he ordered the suppression of a convent of Dominicans, where a French soldier had been murdered, and evinced himself favourable to the Benedictines, who occupied themselves but with spiritual cares and the cultivation of letters, and had saved the lives of several Frenchmen, he hastily quitted Spain to return to Paris, where he arrived on the 23rd January, 1809. He had been in the Spanish dominions only since the commencement of November; but if the insurgent troops were defeated, the inhabitants, far from submitting evinced more and more hostility to Joseph's cause, and it was by no means probable that he would ever sit in peace on the throne of Madrid.

The character of Napoleon presents the most inexplicable contrasts; though the most obstinate of mortals, no man ever more easily allowed himself to be led away by the charm of illusions; in many respects to desire, and to believe, were with him one and the same act. The illusions of an impatient

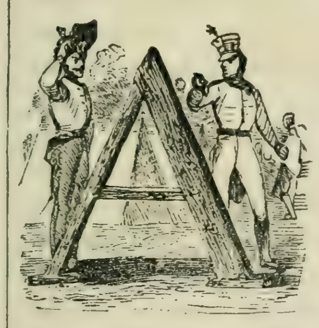
ambition urged him on, and his ear was deaf to every other sound save "Forward."





CHAPTER XXIX

Campaign of 1809 against Austria.



FTER his return from Bayonne, in August 1808, Napoleon had been informed that Austria, whose attitude had been very equivocal during the campaign of Prussia, exhibited signs of ill feeling and evil intentions towards France. He frankly mentioned the case to the ambassador of this power, M. de Metternich, who had come to St. Cloud, with the diplomatic body, in order to felicitate his Imperial Majesty on the occasion of his festival. The ambassador assured him of the pacific disposition of his court, and that the armaments mentioned to the French government, had none but a defensive aim in view. Napoleon bade him remark how unreasonable this explanation was, since there was no subject for inquietude, no symptom of attack the most distant, which could affect Austria. "However," he added, "your Emperor does not wish for war, I believe it; I will rely on his word, which he pledged to me at our interview. He can have no resentment against me. I have occupied his

capital, the greater part of his provinces: almost every thing has been restored to him. Do you imagine that the conqueror of the French armies, who would have been master of Paris, would have acted with like moderation? (M. de Metternich, and all the diplomats and princes of the coalition replied to this question, in the month of April, 1814.) Private intrigues force you into measures which you do not approve of. The English and their partisans dictate all these false measures; already they congratulate themselves with the hope of again seeing Europe on fire." M. de Metternich persisted in denying the hostile views of his government. Later, and at the commencement of the month of March, 1809, when Napoleon had returned to Madrid, certain of a rupture provoked by the court of Vienna, the Austrian ambassador dared to hold the same language to the minister of the exterior, Champagny. "If the Emperor," said he, "really felt any uneasiness about that which he calls our armaments, why, instead of holding his tongue, and calling the troops of the Confederation, did he not speak to me? it would have been explained and probably understood."—"Of what use would that have been?" replied the French minister. "Of what use are these artifices, which have been pursued for the last five months? The Emperor, sir, speaks to you no longer, because he then spoke to you in vain, because you have forfeited with him, by deceitful promises, the credit which is awarded to the title of ambassador. For the rest, the Emperor, who asks of you nothing but to let him enjoy the security of peace, does not wish for war. He will engage in it, if you compel him; although he has not given you the least pretext for it. I know not what your measures will impel you to; but if the war takes place, it will be because you have wished it." M. de Metternich withdrew in confusion, complaining of having been ill-used at court; and M. de Champagny replied that it was the court of Vienna, which not executing the promises made by its ambassador, had alone wounded the dignity of his

character. This minister communicated to the Senate, at the sitting of the 14th April, the two conversations which the Emperor and himself had had with the Austrian ambassador, he made them acquainted with the hostile preparations of the court of Vienna, and after his report, a counsellor of state presented a plan of the *sénatus-consulte*, which placed forty thousand conscripts at the disposal of the minister of war. This plan was adopted; the senate added to it an address in which were again found the memorable words which Napoleon had written in a letter to the Emperor of Austria. "Let the acts of your majesty display confidence; they will inspire it. At present, the best policy is sincerity and truth. If you will confide your uneasiness to me, whenever any is occasioned you, I will dispel it immediately."

Francis II. had confided his uneasiness to London; and when the French senate voted levies of conscripts, and gave its approbation to the preparations for war, hostilities had already commenced; Austria had published her manifesto, and invaded the states of the confederation of the Rhine. It was for Napoleon again to observe, with his minister, that he had not given "the slightest pretext" for a rupture, at the court of Vienna; and, as in the campaigns of Austerlitz and Jena, he perhaps repeated that he knew not why he fought, nor what was required of him. The Austrian cabinet had nevertheless expressed itself in a manner to dissipate all his doubts, and to make it well understood, that it was not for any private griefs, but for general reasons, for an European question, for a cause which had given birth to all the former coalitions, that the faith sworn at the camp of Austerlitz, and laid down at the treaty of Presburg, was about to be violated. It was a reproduction of the manifestos of ancient Europe, since that of Brunswick; it was a new crusade preached by the Aulic council against the *common enemy*, that is to say, France, against the age, against the new ideas, of which Napoleon was but the representative.

Austria, then had declared herself on the 9th April, and on the 10th her armies commenced the campaign. On the 12th, the Emperor, informed by the telegraph of the passage of the Inn by the enemy, immediately left Paris ; on the 16th April, he arrived at Dilligen, and there promised the King of Bavaria to restore him in a fortnight to his capital, whence Prince Charles had driven him; on the 17th, he was at Donawert, and said to his troops in a proclamation :—

" Soldiers, the territory of the confederation has been violated. The Austrian general expects us to fly at the sight of his arms, and to abandon our allies to him. I arrive with the rapidity of lightning.

" Soldiers, I was surrounded by you when the sovereign of Austria came to my camp in Moravia; you have heard him implore my clemency, and swear an eternal friendship towards me. Victors in three wars, Austria has owed every thing to our generosity; three times has she perjured herself. Our past successes are a safe guarantee of the victory which awaits us.

" Let us then march, and at our aspect may the enemy acknowledge his conqueror."

Austria had reckoned on the absence of Napoleon and his guard, and on the veteran troops of Marengo and Austerlitz, being far distant. She knew that there did not remain more than eighty thousand French, scattered throughout Germany; and her army, divided into nine bodies, under the orders of the Arch-Duke Charles had not less than five hundred thousand men. Her first movements had appeared fortunate. The King of Bavaria had fled from Munich before the Arch-Duke, who had marched rapidly from the Inn to the Iser. The French army was then scattered over a line of sixty leagues, which exposed it to being cut off, and beaten in detail. The Austrian general had perceived this, and shewed himself full of activity and hope, when the arrival of Napoleon changed the face of affairs. The ardour of Prince Charles, and of his

army relaxed, that of the French soldiers on the contrary rose. Every imprudent disposition was speedily corrected. The Emperor resumed the course of his admirable manœuvres, and kept his word with the King of Bavaria. He restored him in triumph to his capital before the tenth day had elapsed after the promise made to him. On the 25th April, this prince returned to Munich, and Napoleon, in six days, had gained six victories over the Austrian army. It was not until the 19th, that the enemy could be met with, and a double success, at the battle of Pfaffenhoffen, and at the battle of Tann, had signalized this day. At the battle of Peissing, the terrible 57th, commanded by the brave Colonel Charrière, shewed itself worthy of its name; it attacked unsupported, and successfully defied six Austrian regiments. On the 20th, there was a fresh encounter at Abensberg, a fresh battle, and a fresh triumph for the French. The enemy only stood his ground for an hour, and left in the power of the victor, eight flags, twelve pieces of cannon and eighteen thousand prisoners. On the 21st, the battle of Landshut, completed the defeat of the preceding evening. On this day, General Mouton, at the head of a column of grenadiers, rushed through the flames which were consuming one of the bridges of the Iser. "Forward, but reserve your fire!" he shouted to the soldiers in a voice of thunder; and in a few moments he had penetrated into the town, which became the seat of a sanguinary struggle, and which the enemy were not long in abandoning. About the same time, the Arch-Duke Charles, at the head of the Bohemian *corps*, surprised, at Ratisbon, a detachment of a thousand men, who had been left in charge of the bridge, and who allowed themselves to be surrounded and taken, through not having been warned to retire. At the first rumour of this event, the Emperor swore, that, in four and twenty hours, Austrian blood should flow in Ratisbon, to avenge the affront offered to his arms. On the 22nd, he marched on this town, and met the enemy, a hundred and ten thousand men strong,

who had taken up a position at Eckmuhl. Here was another opportunity offered the Emperor of a great battle, and a great triumph. In a few moments, this numerous army, attacked on all sides, was driven from its positions, and completely routed, leaving the greater part of its artillery, fifteen flags, and twenty thousand prisoners. The Arch-Duke Charles, himself, was only indebted for his safety to the speed of his horse.

The next day, the 23rd, the victorious army presented itself before Ratisbon, which the Austrian cavalry, overthrown by Lannes, could not cover; but six regiments, which the Arch-Duke had left in the place, endeavoured to defend it. The Emperor came himself to order the attack, and was



wounded by a bullet in the right foot. The report was immediately spread throughout the army, and the soldiers, full of uneasiness, hastened to the spot; but they had scarcely

reached Napoleon, who had had his wound dressed in a moment, than he remounted his horse, in the midst of the loudest acclamations. The walls were soon scaled, and the town taken. All who resisted were slain; eight thousand men surrendered.

However, Marshal Bessières pursued the remains of the Austrian *corps*, beaten at Abensberg and Landshut. He overtook them, on the 24th, at Neumark, at the moment they were about joining a body of reserve, which had reached the Inn, beat them and made fifteen hundred prisoners.

On the same day, the Emperor published, at Ratisbon, the following order of the day:—

"Soldiers,

"You have justified my expectations; you have made up for numbers by your courage; you have gloriously marked the difference which exists between the soldiers of Cæsar and the armies of Xerxes.

"In a few days, we have triumphed in the three battles of Tann, Abensberg and Eckmuhl, and the affairs of Peissing, Landshut and Ratisbon. One hundred pieces of cannon, fifty thousand prisoners, three equipages, three thousand baggage wagons, all the funds of the regiments, are the result of the rapidity of your marches, and of your courage.

"The enemy intoxicated by a perjured cabinet, appeared to have lost all recollection of us; they have been promptly awakened; you have appeared to them more terrible than ever. But lately, they had crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our allies; but lately they had promised themselves to carry the war into the bosom of our country. Now, defeated, dismayed, they fly in disorder; already my advance-guard has passed the Inn; before a month we shall be at Vienna."

This audacious prediction will be accomplished, even as that made to the King of Bavaria. Napoleon will march rapidly for the capital of Austria. On the 30th April, his

head-quarters were at Burghausen, where the Countess of Armansperg came to entreat him to restore to her her husband, whom the Austrians had led away prisoner, suspecting him of sympathising with France. Here was published the third bulletin of the grand army, in which Napoleon, full of the recollection of the interview at Austerlitz, and forgetting that no engagement is sacred for the princes of the *ancien régime*, with governments of revolutionary origin, expresses himself bitterly and harshly towards the person of the Emperor Francis. "The Emperor of Austria," said he, "has quitted Vienna, and at his departure, signed a proclamation, dictated by Gentz, in the style and spirit of the most foolish libels. He has retired to Scharding, a position chosen by him, in order to be neither in his capital to govern his dominions, nor in the camp, where he would be but a useless incumbrance. It would be difficult to find a prince more feeble or more treacherous." If Napoleon had resolved to dethrone the monarch whom he thus solemnly outraged, his language would be only injurious; but if he still intended to treat with him, and to leave him on the throne of a vast and powerful monarchy, this language was impolitic; for it would cause the prince, so deeply outraged, to entertain the most profound resentment, which, more than ever, would render all peace and alliance with the court of Vienna, suspicious and dangerous.

On the 1st May, the head-quarters were established at Reid, where the Emperor arrived during the night. On the 3rd, a body of thirty thousand Austrians, remaining from the conquered of Landshut, fell back upon Ebersberg, where it was overtaken by the sharp-shooters of the Po, and of Corsica, who occasioned them considerable loss. Bessières and Oudinot came to operate in conjunction with Massena, and made for Ebersberg, threatening to surround and destroy the Austrian body; General Caparède marched forward with his division, which scarcely amounted to seven thousand men. As soon as he made his appearance, the enemy whose position

was advantageous, would not await the arrival of the divers bodies of the French army, which were in pursuit of them; they attacked the advanced division, after having set fire to the town, which was built of wood. In a moment, the conflagration was universal, and reached the first rafters of the bridge. The fire arrested the march of Bessières, who was crossing the river with the cavalry, in order to support Claparède. This general was therefore obliged to defend himself alone, for three hours, with seven thousand men, against thirty thousand. But at length a passage was opened across the flames; Generals Legrand and Durosnel arrived from different points. The French soldiers performed prodigies of intrepidity and valour. The castle was carried and burnt, and the enemy retired in disorder upon Enns, where they burnt the bridge, so as to protect their flight in the direction of Vienna. The battle of Ebersberg cost the Austrians twelve thousand men, of whom seven thousand five hundred were prisoners. The fifth bulletin, signalized in the following terms, the victors of this day:—

"The division Claparède, which forms part of the grenadiers of Oudinot, has covered itself with glory; it has had three hundred men killed, and six hundred wounded. The impetuosity of the battalions of sharp-shooters of the Po, and of Corsica, has fixed the attention of the whole army. The bridge, the town, and the position of Ebersberg, will be lasting monuments of their courage. The traveller will halt and say:—'It was here, it was from this superb position, from this bridge of so great a length, from this castle so strong from its situation, that an army of thirty-five thousand Austrians was driven by seven thousand French.'"

The Emperor received a deputation from the states of Upper Austria at his camp of Ebersberg. He slept, on the 4th, at Enns, in the castle of the count of Awesperg, and on the 6th, was again at the noted abbey of Molck, where he had halted during the campaign of 1805, the cellars of which, this

time, furnished the army with several million bottles of wine. Passing before the ruins of the castle of Diernstein, on an eminence beyond the Molck, and in the direction of Vienna, the Emperor said to Marshal Lannes who was at his side: "Look, behold the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. Like us, he went to Syria and Palestine. Cœur de Lion, my brave Lannes, was not bolder than thou. He was more fortunate than I at St. Jean d'Acre. A duke of Austria sold him to an Emperor of Germany, who had him imprisoned there. That was in the barbarous ages. How different to our civilization. You have seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, whom I could have taken prisoner. Ah! well! I shall treat him again in the same manner. It is not my wish, but that of the age!" Napoleon was right: it was the age which made him generous, great and magnanimous after victory; it was the age which acted in him, when he marked, by his mode of proceeding towards vanquished monarchs, the distance which separates civilization from barbarism. But if he shews himself the man of civilization with the ancient royalty, the latter will remain, in its turn, worthy of its origin, and will shew itself the faithful guardian of the remnants of barbarism. The genius of the nineteenth century had been the courteous and benevolent host of the camp of Austerlitz; the genius of the middle age will be the ferocious gaoler of St. Helena.

From Molck, the head-quarters of the Emperor were transferred to St. Polten, on the day of the eighth. Two days after, at nine o'clock in the morning, Napoleon was at the gates of Vienna.

The Arch-Duke Maximilian, brother of the Empress, commanded in this capital, which he wished to try and defend. The first summons made him was haughtily repulsed. This young prince carried his blindness so far, as to decree a species of ovation to the leader of a troop, who had violated the right of nations on the person of an aide-camp of Marshal Lannes; he caused this man to be marched triumphantly through all

the streets of Vienna, mounted on the very horse of the French officer, who had been cowardly attacked and wounded.

The Emperor being master of the suburbs, containing two thirds of the population of this capital, organized a civic guard and municipalities, who sent a deputation to the Arch-Duke to entreat him to spare their dwellings; the prince was little moved by their supplication, and the firing continued. The Emperor, therefore, found himself compelled to order a bombardment. A battery of twenty mortars, placed at a hundred yards from the ramparts, commenced, on the 11th, at nine o'clock in the evening, thundering on the place. In less than four hours, eighteen hundred shells were fired. The town soon presented no other aspect than a mass of flame, beneath which moved in disorder, a desolate population. After useless efforts against the labours of the besiegers, the Arch-Duke, learning that the French had crossed an arm of the Danube, and fearing that they would succeed in cutting off his retreat, precipitately left the town, under favour of the night, leaving to General O'Reilly the care of capitulating. In effect, at day-break, this general announced that the firing would cease, and shortly after, a deputation, of which the Archbishop of Vienna made one, was sent to Napoleon, who received it in the park of Schœnbrunn.

On the same day, the 12th, Massena took possession of Leopoldstadt. In the evening, the capitulation of Vienna was signed, and on the 13th, at six o'clock in the morning, Oudinot, at the head of his grenadiers, took possession of the place. The order of the ensuing day was immediately published:—

"Soldiers,

"One month after the enemy had passed the Inn, on the same day, at the same hour, we have entered Vienna.

"Its landwehrs, its great levies, its ramparts created by the powerless rage of the princes of Lorraine, have been unable to sustain your regards.

"The princes of this house have abandoned their capital, not like soldiers of honour, yielding to circumstances, and to the reverses of war, but like perjured men hunted by their remorse.

"On leaving Vienna, their adieus to its inhabitants have been murder and incendiarism; like Medea, they have slain their children with their own hands.

"The people of Vienna, according to the expression of the deputation from its suburbs, wearied, deserted, widowed, shall be the object of your regards. I take the inhabitants under my special protection. As for the turbulent and ill-disposed, I will make a severe example of them.

"Soldiers, let us be kind towards the poor peasants, towards this good people, which has so many claims upon our esteem. Let us not be vain of all our successes; but look upon them as a proof of that divine justice which punishes ingratitude and perjury.

"NAPOLEON."

The Austrian army in abandoning the capital of the empire, had not renounced the war. Sheltered by the Danube, the bridges over which they had destroyed at Vienna, and the surrounding places, they awaited a favourable opportunity of taking the offensive. The bridge of Lintz was the first object of their attacks; but Vandamme opposed to them a vigorous resistance, and Bernadotte, arriving, completely routed them. On his side, Napoleon was also impatient to force the passage of the river, in order to finish this glorious campaign. The reconstruction of the bridge, was, therefore, his first care. Massena had thrown several over the arms of the Danube, which bathe the island of Lobau; Napoleon resolved to make use of it for the passage of the whole army. In three days, the *corps* of Lannes, Bessières, and Massena had taken up a position on the island. The communication with the right bank, was by a bridge of boats, five hundred yards in length, and extending over three arms of the river.

Another bridge, which was not more than sixty-one yards in length, connected the island with the left bank. It was here, that on the 21st May, thirty-five thousand men crossed without opposition, to give battle between Aspern and Essling. But towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the Arch-Duke Charles, who had reassembled all the remains of the divers Austrian bodies beaten in Bavaria, and who had ordered his reserve to advance, presented himself at the head of a hundred thousand men, and fell upon the *corps* of Massena, Bessières and Lannes, the only portion of the French army, which had attained the left bank of the Danube. Massena was first attacked in Aspern, and he maintained himself there, despite the inferiority of numbers, by prodigies of valour; Lannes did as much at Essling, whilst Bessiéres made brilliant charges of cavalry against the centre of the enemy placed between these two villages.

Night put an end to the firing. The hundred thousand Austrians of Prince Charles, had not been able to win an inch of ground from the thirty-five thousand French of Massena, Lannes and Bessières. Reinforcements arriving, and the next day promised to be fatal to the Arch-Duke. In effect, the grenadiers of Oudinot, the division St. Hilaire, two brigades of light cavalry, and the train of artillery passed the bridges in the night, and took up a position on the line of battle. Napoleon prepared every thing for a great victory. At four o'clock in the morning, the signal for battle was again given by the enemy against the village of Aspern; but Massena was there to defend it. This illustrious warrior, whose intrepidity, coolness and military talents, never appeared to better advantage than in difficult positions, did not content himself with repulsing the Austrians each time they attacked; he soon took upon himself the defensive, and completely overthrew the columns which were opposed to him. At the same moment, Lannes and the young guard fell impetuously on the centre of the Austrian army, in order to cut off the communication

with the two wings. Every thing gave way before the heroic marshal, and the victory became certain and decisive, when, about seven o'clock in the morning, it was announced to the Emperor, that a sudden increase of the Danube, which had carried away trees, vessels and even houses, had also borne away the great bridge which joined the island of Lobau with the right bank, and which formed the only method of communication between the troops engaged on the left bank, and the rest of the French army. At this news, Napoleon, who had scarcely fifty thousand men with him, to make head against a hundred thousand, suspended the movement in advance, and ordered his marshals merely to retain their position, in order, afterwards to effect their retreat in good order to the island of Lobau. This order was executed. Generals and soldiers valorously upheld the honour of the French flag. The enemy informed of the destruction of the bridges, which had kept back the park of reserve of the French army, and which thus deprived the cannon and infantry of cartridges, became so emboldened as to resume the offensive on all points. They attacked Aspern and Essling, three times at the same moment, and were three times repulsed. General Mouton distinguished himself at the head of the fusileers of the guard. Marshal Lannes, whom the Emperor had charged to maintain the field of battle, valiantly fulfilled his task; he powerfully contributed to save this fine portion of the French army, the existence of which a stroke of fate had nearly compromised. But this stiking service was the last which this illustrious soldier was to render to his country and to the great captain who was rather his friend than his master. A bullet struck him in the thigh towards the close of the day. Amputation was immediately performed, and with such success as caused hopes to be conceived which were not realized. The marshal was borne on a litter before the Emperor, who could not restrain his tears, at the sight of one of his dearest companions in arms, mortally wounded. "Was it requisite," said he,

turning towards those who surrounded him, "that my heart on this day should have been struck by so severe a blow, to force me to give way to other cares than those of my army?" Lannes, who had fainted, recovered his senses when in the



presence of Napoleon; he threw himself on his neck, and said: "In an hour, you will have lost he who dies with the glory and conviction of having been, and of being your best friend." The marshal, however, lived for ten days, and once a hope was conceived that he might be saved; but a pernicious fever carried him off, on the 31st May, at Vienna. "It is at the moment of quitting life," said Napoleon, later, "that one clings to it with all one's strength. Lannes, the bravest of all men, Lannes, deprived of both legs, wished not to die. Every moment, the unfortunate man asked for the Emperor; he clung to me for the rest of his life; he wished but for me, thought of me only. A species of instinct! Assuredly he

loved his wife and children better than me; and yet he spoke not of them; it was because he expected nought from them; it was he who protected them, whilst, on the contrary, I was his protector. I was for him something vague, superior; I was his providence; he prayed to me! It was impossible," added Napoleon, "impossible to be more brave than Lannes and Murat. Murat remained brave only. The mind of Lannes would have increased with his courage; he would have become a giant. If he had lived in these later times, I do not think it would have been possible to have seen him fail either in honour or duty. He was of that class of men who change the face of affairs by their own weight and influence."

The battle of Essling levelled another blow at the private affections of the Emperor, and deprived the army of one of its bravest and most skilful leaders, General St. Hilaire. "On this day," record the *Memoirs of Napoleon*, "perished Generals Duke de Montebello and St. Hilaire, two heroes, who ranked among the best friends of Napoleon; it caused him to shed tears. They would not have failed in constancy in his misfortunes, they would not have been faithless to the glory of the French people." These cruel losses caused the Emperor the deepest affliction, and sorrowfully reminded him of the emptiness of human affairs. Writing on the 31st May to Josephine, and confiding to her his grief on account of the death of Lannes, who had expired in the morning, he let fall from his pen, this bitter reflection: "And thus ends all things!" forgetting at the moment the greatness of his work, and the immensity of his glory, which he hoped moreover to render imperishable, and the opinion of that posterity of which he had formed an idol, and whose justice could not be wanting, neither to him, nor to his immortal companions in arms.

The day of Essling, eminently glorious for the French arms, left the victory, however, doubtful; both sides laid claim to having triumphed. In the eyes of Europe, it was a check



LANNES.

for Napoleon, accustomed to crush his enemy, to have been unable this time to drive the Austrians from their position, and to have been reduced, by an unforeseen accident, and by the inferiority of his forces, to retain his own. The Emperor comprehended that this halt would produce a moral effect, sufficiently mischievous, as well in France as elsewhere, for him to be charged of aggravating the evil by the least retrograde movement. He resolved, therefore, to maintain himself in this island of Lobau, which was, at first, only intended to have been a sort of *entrepôt* for the passage of the Danube, and in which the increase of the river, and the destruction of the bridges, now imprisoned him with a portion of his army.

On his side, Prince Charles, uneasy at the movements of Davoust, who was bombarding Presburg, dared not take the offensive, and decided upon fortifying his position between Aspern and Enzersdorf.

However, Napoleon laboured actively at the reconstruction of the bridges, and the communications, between the island and the right bank, were soon re-established. It was afterwards learnt, that the army of Italy, under the orders of Prince Eugene, had completely beaten, at St. Michel, the Austrian *corps* of Iellachich, three days after the battle of Essling, and that the victors had effected their junction with the army of Germany on the heights of Simmering. This fortunate event was announced to the troops by the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers of the army of Italy,

"You have gloriously attained the object which I had pointed out to you; the Simmering has been witness of your junction with the Grand Army.

"Be welcome! I am pleased with you!!! Surprised by a perfidious enemy before your columns were united, you were forced to fall back upon the Adige; but when you received the order to march, you were upon the memorable field of Arcola, and you there swore upon the manes of our heroes, to triumph. You have kept your word at the battle of Piava, at the

affairs of St. Daniel, Tarvis, and Gorice. The Austrian column of Iellachich, which was the first to enter Munich, and which gave the signal for the massacres in the Tyrol, surrounded at St. Michel, has fallen beneath your bayonets. You have inflicted prompt justice on those who escaped the rage of the Grand Army.

"Soldiers, this Austrian army of Italy, which sullied, for a moment, my provinces by its presence, which intended to break my iron crown, thanks to you, beaten, dispersed, annihilated, will be an example of the truth of this motto:—'God has given it me, woe be to him who touches it.'"

The junction of Eugene was followed by a fresh victory which this prince gained over the Arch-Duke John and the Arch-Duke Palatine, at Raab, on the 14th June, the anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland. Marmont, after some successes in Dalmatia, came, in his turn, to reunite himself with the Grand Army, and to place himself within the circle of the Emperor's operations. Napoleon saw that the moment had now arrived for striking the decisive blow, for which he had been preparing for more than a month. After the blood, uselessly but gloriously shed at Eylau, he had required Friedland; after Essling, he required Wagram. The following is the relation of this battle, extracted from the twenty-fifth bulletin, which begins by announcing the passage of the Danube, on the 4th July; at ten o'clock in the evening, the burning of Enzersdorf, and some advantages on the day of the 3rd.

Battle of Wagram.

"Greatly frightened at the progress of the French army, and at the great results obtained by it, almost without effort, the enemy ordered all the troops to march, and at six o'clock in the evening, occupied the following position:—the right, from Stradelau to Gerasdorf; the centre, from Gerasdorf to Wagram, and the left, from Wagram to Neusiedel. The

French army had their left at Gros-Aspern, their centre at Raschdorf, and their right at Glinzendorf. In this position, the day had almost closed, and a great battle was expected on the morrow; but this would be avoided, and the position of the enemy destroyed, by preventing them from conceiving any system, if, in the night, possession were taken of the village of Wagram; then their line, already immense, taken by surprise and exposed to the chances of battle, would allow the different bodies of the army to err without order or directions, and they would thus become an easy prey without any serious engagement. The attack on Wagram took place; our troops carried this place; but a column of Saxons and another of French mistook each other in the obscurity for hostile troops, and so the operation failed.

"Preparation was therefore made for the battle of Wagram.



It appeared that the dispositions of the French and Austrian Generals were reversed. The Emperor passed the whole

night in strengthening his centre, where he was in person, within cannon-shot of Wagram. To effect this, the Duke of Rivoli marched to the left of Aderklau, leaving one single division at Aspern, which had orders to fall back in case of necessity on the island of Lobau. The Duke of Auerstadt received orders to leave the village of Grosshoffen to approach the centre. The Austrian General, on the contrary, weakened his centre in order to secure and augment his wings, which he extended anew.

"On the 6th, at day-break, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo occupied the left, having in the second line the Duke of Rivoli. The viceroy connected him with the centre, where the *corps* of Count Oudinot, that of the Duke of Ragusa, those of the Imperial guard, and the divisions of cuirassiers formed seven or eight lines.

"The Duke of Auerstadt marched from the right, in order to arrive at the centre. The enemy, on the contrary, ordered the *corps* of Bellegarde to march upon Stadelau. The *corps* of Colowrath, Lichtenstein, and Hiller, connected this right with the position of Wagram, where the Prince of Hohenzollern was, and to the extremity of the left, at Neusiedel, to which extended the *corps* of Rosemberg, in order to fall upon the Duke of Auerstadt. The *corps* of Rosemberg and that of the Duke of Auerstadt, making an inverse movement, met with the first rays of the sun, and gave the signal for battle. The Emperor made immediately for this point, reinforced the Duke of Auerstadt with the divisions of cuirassiers of the Duke of Padua, and took the *corps* of Rosemberg in flank with a battery of twelve pieces of the division of General Count Nansouty. In less than three quarters of an hour, the fine *corps* of the Duke of Auerstadt had defeated Rosemberg's troop, and driven it beyond Neusiedel, with great loss.

"In the mean time the cannonade commenced throughout the line, and the dispositions of the enemy became developed every moment; the whole of their left was studded with

artillery; one would have said that the Austrian General was not fighting for the victory, but that the only object he had in view, was how to profit by it. This disposition of the enemy appeared so absurd, that some snare was dreaded, and the Emperor hesitated some time before ordering the easy dispositions which he had to make, in order to annul those of the enemy and render them fatal to him. He ordered the Duke of Rivoli to make an attack on a village occupied by the foe, and which somewhat pressed the extremity of the centre of the army. He ordered the Duke of Auerstadt to turn the position of Neusiedel, and to push from thence upon Wagram; and bade the Duke of Ragusa and General Macdonald form in column, in order to carry Wagram the moment the Duke of Auerstadt should march upon it.

"While this was going forward, word was brought that the enemy was furiously attacking the village which the Duke of Rivoli had carried; that our left had advanced about three thousand yards; that a heavy cannonade was already heard at Gross-Aspern, and that the interval from Gross-Aspern to Wagram appeared covered by an immense line of artillery. It could no longer be doubted: the enemy had committed an enormous fault, and it only remained to profit by it. The Emperor immediately ordered General Macdonald to dispose the divisions Broussier and Lamaque in attacking columns: they were supported by the division of General Nansouty, by the horse-guards, and by a battery of sixty pieces of the guard and forty pieces of different *corps*. General Count de Lauriston, at the head of this battery of a hundred pieces of artillery, galloped towards the enemy, advanced without firing to within half cannon shot, and then commenced a prodigious cannonade which soon silenced that of the enemy, and carried death into their ranks. General Macdonald marched forward to the charge. The General of division, Reilly, with the brigade of fusileers and riflemen of the guard, supported General Macdonald. The guard had made an alteration in its front, in

order to render this attack infallible. In the twinkling of an eye, the centre of the enemy lost a full league; their right, dismayed, felt the danger of the position in which it was placed, and fell back in great haste. The Duke of Rivoli then attacked it in front. Whilst the rout of the centre bore consternation to and compelled the movements of the right of the enemy, their left was attacked and penetrated by the Duke of Auerstadt, who had carried Neusiedel, and had marched upon Wagram. The divisions Broussier and Gudin covered themselves with glory.

"It was then but ten o'clock in the morning, and any one with the least penetration, might have seen that the day was decided, and that the victory was ours.

"At noon, Count Oudinot marched upon Wagram to aid the attack of the Duke of Auerstadt. He succeeded in it and carried this important position. After ten o'clock, the enemy had only fought for their retreat; at noon it was ordered and effected in disorder, and long before dark the enemy was out of sight. Our left was placed at Ietelsée and Ebersdorf, our centre on Obersdorf, and the cavalry of our right had posts as far as Sonkirchen.

"On the 7th, at daybreak, the army was in motion, and marched upon Kornenburg and Wolkersdorf, and established posts at Nicolsburg. The enemy, cut off from Hungary and Moravia, found a reception in Bohemia.

"Such is the recital of the battle of Wagram, a decisive and ever celebrated battle, in which three or four hundred thousand men, from twelve to fifteen hundred pieces of cannon, fought for great interests, on a field of battle, studied, planned and fortified by the enemy for several months. Ten flags, forty pieces of cannon, twenty thousand prisoners, of whom three or four hundred are officers, with a good number of generals, colonels, and majors, are the trophies of this victory. The field of battle is covered with dead, amongst whom are the bodies of several Generals, and one named

Normann, a Frenchman, traitor to his country, who had prostituted his talents against her."

For the third time, Napoleon found himself master of the destinies of the house of Lorraine, which he had accused of ingratitude and perjury, before Europe and in the face of history; for the third time, this conqueror, so violent in his menaces, so overwhelming in his reproaches, eagerly received the pacific proposals of those who had provoked the war, whose hopes had been overthrown and resources destroyed on the day of Wagram. The Emperor of Austria having demanded a suspension of arms, Napoleon granted it, which was signed on the 10th July, at Znaïm. The negociations for peace were immediately commenced; they lasted for three months, during which time Napoleon inhabited the castle of Schœnbrunn.

It was in this residence that he learnt the disembarkation of eighteen thousand English in the island of Walcheren, the capitulation of Flushing, and the attempts upon Antwerp. He immediately despatched Bernadotte and the minister Daru, to watch over the defence of this latter place. The English were in fact repulsed, and obliged to re-embark and return to England, after having lost by sickness, three-fourths of this expeditionary army.

The Emperor ordered General Monet to be brought to trial, who had not sufficiently defended himself in Flushing.

But severe as he was towards those who seemed to him not to have done every thing in their power to save the honour of France, he was equally ready to proclaim and reward the merit of those men of head and heart, who powerfully seconded him in the camp and in the council. Thus after Wagram, he named three new marshals, Oudinot, Macdonald and Marmont.

The French army was at this time established in all parts of Germany, from the Danube to the Elbe, and from the Rhine to the Oder. This occupation, always burthensome for the inhabitants, disposed them to listen complaisantly to

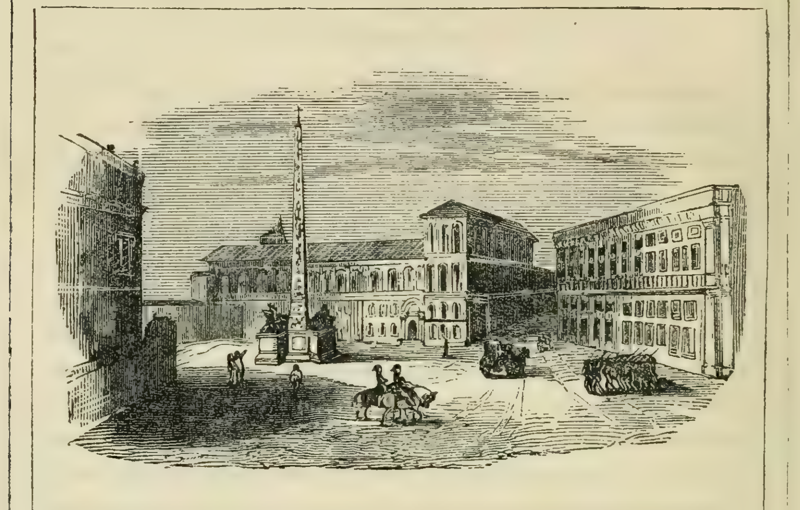
all the violent declamations which the agents of England, and the emissaries of Vienna and Berlin gave vent to against France and her leader. The German population was unacquainted with the march of diplomacy, and little aware of its trickery. All they knew was, that war was a scourge for them, and they naturally cast the blame of it on him who invaded their territories, and seemed to be insatiable in his conquests. Hence, that national hatred which began to ferment in Germany against Napoleon, and which prepared new and formidable enemies among the people for the representative of the popular principles, who, until then, had, in reality had but impotent ones in kings.

The first symptoms of the existence and of the intensity of this rising antipathy was exhibited in a striking manner at Schœnbrunn, in the attempt of a young fanatic, who had come from Erfurt to Vienna in order to assassinate Napoleon. Surprised, at the moment when he was about putting his project in execution, he remained calm and immoveable, evincing no repentance, and only expressing his regret that he had not killed the Emperor. Napoleon wished to interrogate him on his country, his family, his connections and his habits. He declared his name to be Staps of Erfurt, to be the son of a Lutheran minister, to have never known either Schill or Schneider, and to be connected neither with Freemasons nor any other sect. The Emperor asked him wherefore, having seen him at Erfurt, he had not then sought to kill him. "You let my country breathe," he replied, "I thought the peace assured." This young man, therefore, had only wished, to strike, in Napoleon, the author of the war, the indefatigable conqueror, the disturber of the repose of Europe. If the people of Germany had better known the real state of things, and the true instigators of the war, it is against their own governments that their hatred would have been directed, and their arms raised. Napoleon comprehended, by the replies of this young man, how greatly the lying policy of

his enemies had misled the public mind in Germany. It is said that he wished to pardon Staps, whose frankness and courage had struck him, and in whom besides, he saw but a blind instrument of the passions excited by the ancient diplomacy. But his orders arrived too late. The young German met his death with the greatest coolness, exclaiming: "Hail, Liberty! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!"

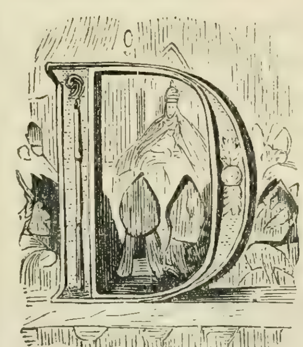
Peace, which thus had its devotees on the Germanic soil, was at length concluded at Vienna on the 14th October, 1809. The Emperor of Austria was subjected to fresh territorial concessions in favour of France, Saxony, etc. The czar, whose prayers had probably been for the enemies of France during the war, the czar himself, had his share of the spoil of his secret allies; Napoleon, who still believed in the sincerity of the demonstrations at Erfurt, gave to Alexander the most eastern part of ancient Galicia, comprising a population of four hundred thousand souls. The treaty being signed, he quitted Schœnbrunn to return to France, and arrived at Fontainebleau on the 26th October.





CHAPTER XXX.

Troubles with the Pope. Reunion of the Roman States with the French Empire.



DECLINING further contest, the monarchs of the continent, had ceased to resist the ascendant of Napoleon's fortune, and the power of his arms. The hereditary pride of dynasties and aristocracies was everywhere overcome; it bowed before the plebeian glory of the Imperial throne, or took refuge beyond sea. In the south, it was the house of Braganza which had fled to Brazil, and that of Naples into Sicily, at sight of the victorious eagles of France; whilst the Bourbons of Spain had come to implore at Bayonne, the support of Napoleon, and to yield him up their throne. In the North, the more elevated races were not less humiliated:

the houses of Lorraine and Brandenburg, formerly so haughty and disdainful, were reduced to a very modest position, and glad to solicit the title of allies of their vanquisher. On his side, the superb autocrat, head of the illustrious house of Romanow, had affected to quit the chivalric character of first champion of the divine right, in order to proclaim himself universally, the admirer and the friend of the great man, whom the revolutionary principle had caused to reign over France, and at whose court he multiplied his presents and embassies. The petty princes and republics had been necessarily included in this motion of universal submission; Upper Germany had placed itself under the protection of the invincible conqueror; and the Dutch republicans had demanded a king from his family, whilst those of Italy gave him the iron crown, and the Helvetic confederation accepted of his powerful mediation.

However, in the midst of the general prostration which produced admiration in some, and fear in others, in this vast *tableau* of the common subjection of monarchies and republics, one exception was found. In a corner of Europe, in the depths of Italy, the most feeble, the most insignificant of political sovereigns, dared to resist, alone, the universal ruler, and feared not to trouble by his opposition, his blame, and even his menaces, the concert of praise and adulation, which resounded from one extremity of the continent to the other. This daring prince, this last organ of the resistance of the past, to the exactions of the man of the day, was the Pope, the same who had quitted the Quirinal palace to consecrate Napoleon at Paris.

The Pope, so little formidable as a temporal prince, could he still rely on the effect of his spiritual thunders? Was the middle age, which crumbled and fell on all sides, in full vigour and existence at Rome? The institutions and religious beliefs which formed the splendour and supremacy of Papacy, had they been less subjected to the deleterious action of time,

than the religious institutions and political creeds on which royalty and aristocracy had founded their empire?

History spoke to the contrary. For more than two hundred years, France had written to the Holy See that its bulls became frozen in passing the Alps. For three centuries, the philosophical spirit, liberal theories, and open examination, had snatched almost the whole of the North of Europe from the pontifical domination. It was by religious questions that the human mind had commenced, in Germany, its revolt against the powers and sovereignties of the middle age. It was the revolution in the church which had led in England to the revolution in the state. In France, it is true, schism and heresy had seemed to respect the throne of St. Louis, or at least had been unable to seat itself thereon; but the Roman faith had gained nothing by this official preservation of the most christian kingdom. A revolutionist more bold, more powerful and more radical than schism or heresy, had invaded every degree of French society; this was philosophy. Her plan was not merely to erect altar against altar; but to shake all faith, by rendering every dogma doubtful, and this audacious attempt had succeeded. Montaigne and Descartes, Voltaire and Rousseau, had been more dangerous enemies of the Holy See than Luther and Calvin.

Pius VII. could not deny this fact, which his successors have since proclaimed with solemn and bitter lamentations. But Pius VII. was the depository of a power which had mastered kings and absolutely governed the conscience of the people, at a time, when the priesthood was the sole guardian of sciences and letters, and the advanced guard of civilization; when it was also the sole protector of the people against the excesses of feudal brutality. Proud of the memory of this, and supported at the same time by a religious belief, which pointed out to him Heaven as the source of his authority, the Roman pontiff considered the relaxation of faith merely as an accidental aberration of the human mind, and, influenced by

pride as well as duty, he refused to acknowledge that the decay of his doctrine had altered the principle, or ought to modify the manifestation of his supreme dignity.

But this pretension of the Pope was but a noble illusion. Certainly the spiritual power which had civilized the feudal world, had not fallen equally low with feudality itself. It was natural that the religious ideas which had given to the clergy its superiority over the nobility, at the time of their common splendour, should render hereafter the ruin of ecclesiastical credit less complete and less profound than the discredit of the Patrician order. The disappearance of the aristocracy left no void in the state: it had been otherwise with the priesthood; for it is easy for that philosophy which overthrows a political order, to substitute a new one in its place, to form a republic or a monarchy, to invent a constitution, to organize a government, to create a police, to find, in short, both men and laws to save provisionally, and with more or less success, the material of the society, despite the moral disorder of the period of the transition; nothing of all this is possible in the religious order. There would be in this, no immediate organization to hope for, nor promotion of persons who might be arbitrarily chosen. Then the ancient faith, despite its enfeeblement, would remain as a sightly ruin, beneath which would take shelter all those who had need of prayer and belief, all those who beheld habits at variance with faith.

It was this perseverance of the faithful, sufficient to preserve a remnant of devotion in the temples, and to conceal the actual indifference of souls beneath the exterior of a vain practice it was this perpetuity of worship, despite the decay of doctrines and creeds, which could alone deceive the spiritual power as to its true situation, and lead it to think that it was still sufficiently strong to speak to kings and emperors the haughty language of the monk of Cluny.

Since 1805, soon after the coronation of the Emperor, Pius VII. had wished to realize the hopes which had

determined him to cross the Alps in order to come to Paris, and consecrate the French Revolution in the person of Napoleon. He instantly demanded that legations should be sent to him, and that his territory should be increased. This concession did not fall in with the Emperor's views upon Italy ; and was constantly refused. Then the pontiff repented of having lent his supreme ministership to an act which excluded "the eldest sons of the church" from the throne of France. His regret and dissatisfaction were manifested in his speeches, in his letters, in every thing that he did. He obstinately refused the canonical institution to bishops named by the Emperor, conformably to the Concordat, and persisted in opening his ports to the English.

This conduct irritated Napoleon, who thus wrote to the Pope, on the 13th February, 1806:—

"For the sake of wordly interests, souls are allowed to perish....

"Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome; but I am its Emperor, all my enemies ought to be yours." Pius VII. replied as Boniface or the Gregories had done : "The sovereign pontiff does not, and never has acknowledged any power superior to his own. The Emperor of Rome exists not. The vicar of a God of peace should preserve peace with all, without the distinction of catholics or heretics."

A reply made with so much pride and dignity was not of a nature to calm the resentment of the Emperor. He insisted and threatened, but in vain. Pius VII. held that he maintained the terms of the Concordat, which said nothing about delay in bestowing the canonical institution, and he did not wish to abandon what he termed a means of action for the Holy See, against governments and nations. Indeed the admission of the English into his ports was rendered necessary by the wants of his subjects, and by his principles of peace and universal charity.

The *chargé d'affaires* of Napoleon endeavoured to make

the pontiff comprehend, that this language, and this reasoning were out of season, and that they could only serve to bring down some storm upon Rome. The Pope was inflexible. "If they take away my life," he said to the French minister, "my tomb will do me honour, and I shall be justified in the eyes of God and in the memory of man. If the Emperor executes his menaces and does not acknowledge me as sovereign prince, I will no longer acknowledge him as Emperor." Pius VII. was persuaded that a malediction falling from his mouth, would prove fatal to Napoleon, and that the Holy See could not do otherwise than gain by a rupture. "Persecution," said he, "will produce schism, the only means of saving the church."

All these proud and obstinate speeches, reported to the Emperor by his plenipotentiary, served to surprise, afflict and annoy him more and more. He wrote on the 1st May, 1807, from the banks of the Vistula, to Prince Eugene, who was then viceroy: "The Pope wishes that I should have no more bishops in Italy. If that is the way to serve religion, what must those do who wish to injure it?"

The result of the campaigns of Prussia and Poland did not shake the resolution of Pius VII. After Tilsit, little touched by the submission of the potentates of the North to the views of Napoleon, the Pope persisted in opposing to the conqueror of Friedland the supremacy of the Holy See over all the powers of the earth. Then Napoleon, returning to Paris, decided upon sending from Dresden, to his minister at the court of Rome, a long letter, in which he judged, in his turn, the pontifical pretensions, and announced that he would go, if necessary, and reply to the Pope in person, in Rome itself. "Does his Holiness think," said he, "that the rights of the throne should be less sacred than those of the tiara? There were kings before there were Popes. They say they will denounce me to Christianity! They make an error of a thousand years. The court of Rome has blindly preached

rebellion for two years. I put up with it from the present Pope; but I would not suffer it from any other. What does he expect to gain by denouncing me to Christianity? by placing my throne in interdict? by excommunicating me? can he imagine that my soldiers will let fall their arms in consequence? does he think to place a poniard in the hands of my people, in order that they may slay me? This infamous doctrine was preached by mad-headed Popes; but I can scarcely believe it to be the intention of Pius VII. to imitate them. There would then remain nothing but to endeavour to cut off my hair, and shut me up in a monastery.... There is so much extravagance in it, that I cannot but groan at the spirit of opposition which has taken possession of two or three cardinals who direct affairs at Rome.

"The actual Pope took the trouble to come to my coronation. I have recognized in this act, a holy prelate; but he wishes that I should grant him the legations. I neither could nor would do it. The Pope is too powerful. He threatens to make an appeal to the people; and will consequently call upon my subjects. What will they say? they will say, like me, that they wish for religion, but that they will put up with nothing from a foreign power!—I hold my crown of God, and of the will of my people. For the court of Rome, I shall be always Charlemagne, and not Louis le Débonnaire. If the priests of Rome think to obtain any temporal aggrandizement by means of the chicanery which has been practised towards me, they are deceived. I will not give the legations to procure an accommodation."

The firm and immoveable attitude of a disarmed pontiff, facing a conqueror beneath whose sword all Europe trembled and bowed, offered, doubtless, a fine and noble spectacle; but the pontifical menaces and pretensions did not the less, according to the words of the Emperor, comprise an error of a thousand years. Rome had enough to do: the moral force, and the energetic character of her bishop could not

restore to her her ancient power, and no longer served but to place in relief a great and majestic individuality. It will matter little hereafter, whether the eternal city blesses or condemns; no prince cares for it, because no people continue to expect from it the signal of submission or disobedience, of devotion or disaffection, in regard to their chiefs. Rome would have it so. After having swayed the kings in the interest of the people, in the name of what was then called Christian civilization, she leagued herself with the kings against the people, under the banner of prejudices and abuses, when civilization, in its incessant and progressive transformations, quitting the priestly robe to put on the mantle of philosophy, cast into the world novel and bold ideas, more reconcileable with the doctrines of Scripture, than with the habits of a priesthood admitted by the temporal power to a share of the political privileges and enjoyments of a terrestrial life.

Then the sovereign imprecations of the Vatican were no longer directed against the violence and excess of the feudal oppressor, but against the indocile reason and the desires of emancipation of the oppressed people. An alliance was made between the crown and the tiara, without distinction of religious creeds. Royalty, heretical or schismatical, was better treated at Rome than orthodox liberty. The latter bore this in mind. When Providence sounded the hour of revolution, and gave to the people the power of condemning in their turn, the priest who had made himself the auxiliary of the baron, beheld himself reached by the same anathemas. The thunder burst at once over the episcopal palaces and princely dwellings. The rival powers of the middle age sealed their reconciliation beneath the storm-cloud. In common they had abused their greatness, and were subjected to the same destruction. There where the sarcasm of philosophy and the corrosive speech of the tribune, had torn the royal mantle to shreds and caused it to disappear, might be also remarked

many indelible spots and irreparable rents in the Roman purple, for the Holy See was violently shaken by the commotion which overturned the thrones.

Therefore when Pius VII. still claims the universal supremacy which his predecessors enjoyed, without taking into account the difference of the time, this proud and audacious attempt can only be regarded as an anachronism producing no result. He need hardly maintain the traditional pride of the Vatican, and exhibit from the Quirinal his extinct thunders; the potentate threatened by this demonstration knows all the vanity of it; he knows that it is not the formidable Papacy of the middle age which is arrayed against him, but only its impotent shade, and that he does not require much audacity in order to brave excommunication in the midst of a people, believing no more than himself in the resurrection of the past, and in the bosom of whom, the cry of alarm, uttered by the venerable head of Christianity, would scarcely produce the slightest emotion; and still less in the souls of heretical Presbyterians

However, Pius VII., still brandishing the dripping sword of Gregory VII., and of Sixtus V. shewed himself disposed to receive in his palace the formidable enemy who had announced to him his approaching visit. "If this project should be realized, we would yield to no one" said he, "the honour of receiving so illustrious a guest. The palace of the Vatican, which we would prepare, should be destined to receive your majesty and suite."

But the Emperor could not execute this voyage. The affairs of Portugal and those of Spain, detained him at Paris, more ready to march towards the Pyrenees than to cross the Alps. The negociations with the Holy See continued, nevertheless, by means of diplomatic agents, but always with the same want of success. The Pope resisted more than ever the wishes of Napoleon. The Emperor persisted, on his side, in refusing his consent to the desires of the pontiff; and the

rupture became inevitable. "Let the negociations be broken off," wrote Napoleon to his minister, on the 9th January, 1808, "since the Pope will have it so, and let no further pacific relationship continue to exist between his dominions and mine."

This was as much as to announce the approaching occupation of the Roman states by French soldiers. Pius VII. could hardly mistake it, and therefore said to the French agent at an audience which he granted him about the end of the same month: "There will be no military resistance. I shall withdraw to the castle of St. Angelo. Not a shot will be fired; but it will be requisite for your general to break down the gates. I shall place myself at the entrance of the fortress. The troops will be compelled to pass over my body, and the whole world will know that the Emperor has allowed to be trampled under foot, he who consecrated him. God will perform the rest."

Certainly, all this language was admirable. The pontiff evinced himself sublime in his resignation, sublime in his hopes. But this firmness and confidence were only founded on the isolated faith of the sovereign priest, whose character they honoured. God had nothing more to do with the Papacy; and the universe, little disposed to trouble itself on this account, took notice neither of its dangers, nor of its complaints.

Accordingly as Pius VII. had foreseen, the military occupation of the patrimony of St. Peter, was resolved and ordered by the Emperor. A few detachments of French troops sufficed to march to the conquest of a city which had been twice mistress of the world, and whose vast domination had twice received the promise of eternity. Any display of military force would have been useless. The queen of nations had disappeared; the genius of antiquity no longer watched over the Capitol; the genius of the middle age had expired in the Vatican; the flag of Constantine fell without resistance before the eagles of Napoleon, whose soldiers might say, on

taking possession of this immense capital without striking a blow, that hereafter the eternal city would be nothing more than an immense mausoleum, the cold and solitary tomb of the pontiffs and Cæsars.

This proceeding, not less striking than that of Bayonne, completed the triumph of the French Revolution. During the debates of Pius VII. and Napoleon, modern genius had established its power, and marked the end of all Roman greatness, by planting its insignias on the domes of the haughty metropolis of the past, without encountering the least opposition, without provoking the protestations of the nations or of the kings of Christianity, without causing the tocsin of a new crusade to resound throughout the Catholic universe.

The inflexibility of the Pope, was, however, not overcome by the invasion of his states. According to the threat which he had made, Pius VII. launched a bull of excommunication against the Emperor, when he perceived that the latter was no less immoveable than himself in his resolutions, and that the military occupation of Rome would be indefinitely prolonged. "By the authority of the Almighty God, of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own," said the holy father, "we declare that you and all your co-operators, for the crime which you have just committed, have incurred excommunication, etc., etc."

Napoleon was at Vienna, decked with the laurels of Eckmuhl and Ratisbon, when he learnt the publication of this bull. He immediately resolved to demand of the Pope the reunion of the Pontifical domain with the French empire, and, in case of refusal, to carry off his Holiness. General Radet was charged with this unpleasant mission. He presented himself for this purpose, at the Quirinal palace, on the night of the 5th July, 1809, and instantly pressed Pius VII. to consent to the cession of his temporal domain, in order to avoid the rigorous measures to which a vain resistance would expose him. "I cannot," replied the pontiff, "I must not, I

will not. I have promised before God to preserve for the holy church all its possessions, and I will never fail in the oath which I have made to maintain it." The General replied: "Holy Father, I am greatly afflicted that your Holiness will not consent to this demand, since, by refusing it, you only expose yourself to fresh tribulation."—THE POPE: "I have said it; nothing on earth can change my determination; and I am ready to shed the last drop of my blood, to lay down my life this very moment, rather than violate the oath which I have sworn before God."—THE GENERAL: "Well! then the resolution you have taken will perhaps be a source of great calamity for you."—THE POPE: "I am decided, and nothing can alter me."—THE GENERAL: "Since such is your resolution, I regret the orders which my sovereign has given me, and the commission which I have received from



him."—THE POPE: "Indeed, my son, this commission will not bring upon you the blessing of Heaven."—THE GENERAL:

"Holy Father, it is necessary that your Holiness should accompany me."—The Pope: "This then is the gratitude reserved for me for all I have done for your Emperor? This then is the reward for my great condescension towards him and the Gallician church. But perhaps I am guilty with regard to this in the sight of God; he wishes to punish me for it, and I submit with humility."—The General: "Such is my commission; I grieve to execute it, for I am a catholic and your son." Cardinal Pacca then demanded that the holy father should be allowed to take with him the persons he should name; but the general replied to his eminence, that according to the orders of the Emperor, he alone could accompany the Pope.—"And what time are we to be allowed to prepare for our journey?" asked the cardinal. "Half an hour," said the general. The pontiff then rose, and only gave utterance to these words: "Then God's will be done towards me."

A carriage was waiting at one of the palace gates. Pius VII. got into it with Cardinal Pacca, and General Radet rode in front. At the gate *del Popolo*, another carriage was prepared for the august travellers. The French officer wished to profit by this change to renew his entreaties with the Pope. "It is still time," said he, "for your Holiness to renounce the states of the church."—"No," drily repeated the pontiff, and the man immediately closed the door. In a few minutes he was away from Rome, and on the road to Florence. Some biographers have pretended that General Radet had commanded the painter Benvenulti, to draw a picture representing the Pope leaving Mount Cavallo, with all the persons who had figured in it.

"The unfortunate pontiff," says M. de Bourrienne, "was passed from city to city, for then it was, who should not receive the illustrious prisoner. From Florence, Eliza sent him forward to Turin; from Turin, the Prince Borghese expedited him into the interior of France; and, finally, Napo-

leon sent him back to reside in Savona, under keeping of his brother-in-law; thus ingeniously recalling to Prince Borghese, that he owed his rank, before an Imperial alliance, to Paul V. In these pleasure excursions, his Holiness's guard of honour was a squad of gens-d'armerie. But in all the varied phrases of this troublesome transaction, and blameable as it certainly was, the Pope could not easily persuade men that Heaven took pleasure in avenging promptly the cause of the chief of holy mother church, since the very morning which followed his abduction from the chair of St. Peter, lighted up the day of Wagram."

It was from the imperial palace of Schœnbrunn, and during the negociations for peace with Austria, that Napoleon sent to General Miollis, the military commandant at Rome, the order to execute the decree respecting the reunion of the Papal states with the French empire. Rendering an account of this measure to the Legislative Body, at the opening of the session of 1809, which followed the treaty of Vienna, the Emperor thus expressed himself:—

"History has pointed out to me the conduct I ought to display towards Rome. The Popes, having become sovereigns of a portion of Italy, constantly evinced themselves the enemies of all preponderating power in the Peninsula. They have employed their spiritual influence to injure it. It has, therefore, been demonstrated to me, that the spiritual influence exercised throughout my dominions by a foreign prince, was contrary to the independence of France, to the dignity and safety of my throne. However, since I acknowledge the necessity of the spiritual influence of the descendants of the first of pastors, I have been unable to reconcile these great interests but by annulling the donation of the French emperors, "my predecessors," and reuniting the states of Rome with those of France."

Pius VII. had foreseen all, spoliation and persecution; but this perspective had not shaken his great soul. When that

which he had foreseen became realized, it only induced him to fortify himself in his first resolution. Towards the close of 1810, he refused the canonical institution to a bishop whom Napoleon had appointed to the see of Florence, and he even forbad, in a brief, that any administrator should be received. The Emperor demanded a report on these subjects from his council of state, and ordered that this report and the Pope's brief should be printed. In vain were the inconveniences of a like publication pointed out to him. "I desire this publicity," said he; "it is requisite that all Europe should be made acquainted with the provocation of the Pope, and the motive for the measures which I design to take, in order to repress and prevent hereafter similar acts. It is a crime on the part of the head of the church to attack a sovereign who respects the dogmas of religion. I must defend my crown and people, nay, the whole universe against bold enterprises, which have too long misled kings and tormented humanity. A Pope who preaches revolt to subjects, is no longer the head of the church of God, but the Pope of Satan.

"It is time to put an end to so much audacity, usurpation and disorder. Providence, I believe, has called upon me to restore this pernicious authority which the Popes have arrogated to themselves, to its just limits, to preserve the present, and to deliver future generations from it for ever.

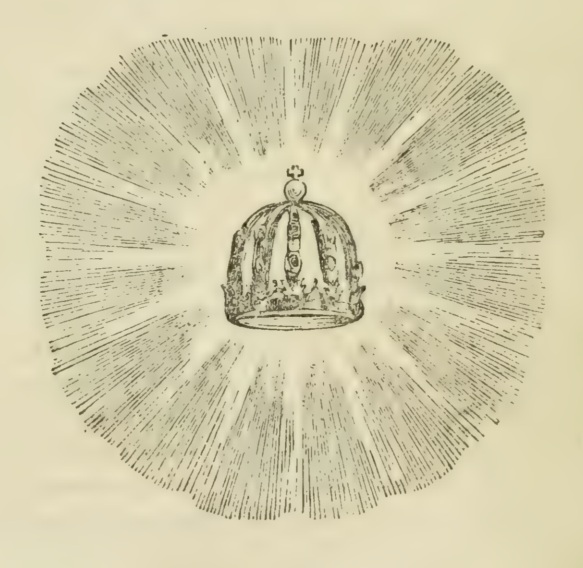
"At all events, the same precautions should be used in France, against this constantly encroaching authority as with the other powers of Europe. Eight days from this a proposal will be laid before the senate to re-establish the right which always belonged to Emperors, of confirming the nomination of Popes, and that previous to his installation the Pope shall swear to the Emperor of the French, submission to the four articles of the declaration of the clergy in 1682. If these articles are orthodox, why should the Popes deny them? If they are not conformably with the creed of the Popes, then the Popes and the French are not of the same religion!"

The French, indeed, had for a long time been of a different religion, despite the external manifestations of a common practice; without that, the potentate, excommunicated for having violated the patrimony of St. Peter and imprisoned his successor, could not have continued to retain under his flag a nation full of devotion and enthusiasm, when his august prisoner beheld his groans and complaints fall into a fathomless abyss, that of indifference.

But the Emperor had undertaken too many things at once, "remarks de Bourrienne," for all equally to succeed. Along the whole coast of Germany, his commercial decrees were sadly infringed. At Hamburgh, more than six thousand individuals, chiefly of the populace, were employed in smuggling colonial productions to a great extent, going and returning twenty times a day between Altona and Hamburgh, with goods concealed in such a manner as decency prevents me describing. I may mention two, however, out of many instances of more wholesale dealings. Between these towns were sand-pits, whence materials were brought to repair one of the principal streets of Hamburgh. During the night, the sand-pits were filled with brown sugar, which of course, nearly resembled the sand in colour. With this sugar the small carts were filled, the load covered with paper, and a layer of sand an inch thick, laid over the whole. The paving, as may be supposed, advanced with marvellous slowness, and a considerable time passed before the trick was discovered.

"Upon the right bank of the Elbe, between Altona and Hamburgh, lies a small village, inhabited by sailors, labourers in the harbour, and a considerable number of respectable proprietors. Their burial place is within the city of Hamburgh. Well, it was observed that a more than ordinary number of hearses, with all the proper decorations and customary rites, passed from this small place. Astonished at the extreme mortality which appeared to have suddenly fallen upon their worthy neighbours, the Hamburgh excise, ventured, at length,

to interrogate one of the defunct. 'Dead men, they say, tell no lies; and so it happened here, for some how or other, the lamented deceased could not be found, though most amply provided in the commodities of coffee, sugar, vanilla, indigo, &c.



END OF VOL. I.

